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# Current History

JUNE, 1961

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# Government and Education Abroad

## ***What Is Government's Role?***

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Assistant Editor:  
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Promotion Consultant:  
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July, 1961

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**GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION ABROAD**,  
June, 1961

**CURRENT PROBLEMS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION**, August, 1961

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*"What can we learn from studying the government-school relation in other countries?" Here specialists explore this problem in terms of the experience of nations abroad. Comparing the relationship between state and school in various countries, our first article, an overview, concludes "that centralization of education in France has in no way crippled its cultural life; that for the past 100 years, especially since World War I, England has given the government increasing power over education; and that Russia could not be the mighty competitor of the democracies without its control over the schools." He believes that since some federal support is necessary in the United States, Americans should study the English system.*

## Government and Schools Abroad: A Comparison

By ROBERT ULICH

*James Bryant Conant Professor of Education, Emeritus, Harvard University*

I HAVE BEEN ASKED by the editor of this journal to deal with the question as to what the American people can learn from studying the relation between government and education in other countries, such as Britain, France, Russia and nations that have more recently entered the international scene. The reader who expects an unqualified answer from the comparative approach will, I am afraid, be disappointed. All that I can do is to invite him to look at the problem with some information and with as little prejudice as possible.

The first point to bear in mind is that the relation between the government and the schools of a nation cannot be understood without adding a third factor, i.e., the nature of the society for which both are presumed to operate. For each national society is molded by a number of factors which influence its relation to its government. The citizens feel that they belong to one another through common interests and through institutions in which these interests are incor-

porated, such as organizations of employers, workers, professional people and parties. While these organizations are primarily concerned with current issues, their members are influenced also by the past of the nation, its history, its lore and traditions, the wars it has fought, its language and its modes of thinking about God and the world.

From the past come the heroes and models of perfection, and these color its aspirations and dreams for the future. The dead are alive in the living more than the living realize. From the past come also many of our feelings of difference, alienation and distrust. Think of the civil war and the Negro problem in the United States. Unless it goes too deeply into the joints of the whole structure, divergence may hold a people together as much as convergence. In many groups hatred against outsiders has been a social glue as effective as internal understanding; we have not completely overcome the dangers of tribal mentality.

All these elements and interests, determined by the present and the past, uniting

or segmental, enlightened or self-destructive, work on the spirit, organization and prestige of public and private instruction and on the people's opinion of the role of government in matters educational. Hence, what is right in one place may be wrong in another. The logic of abstractions is not the logic of history (if there is any logic), which is the reason why learned men are not always good statesmen.

Although it may sound surprising, there exists a certain similarity between educational and ecclesiastical institutions. Both administer the "cultural heritage." Individual teachers may be progressive, but most parents hesitate to see their children exposed to educational ventures, though the latter may have the future on their side. And many parents send their children to religious Sunday lessons and even to parochial schools, not because of profound convictions, but because it is "the right thing to do." Not only the schools of older China, but our schools also, from the elementary grades up to the liberal arts colleges, are very important, sometimes even dangerous, objects and vehicles of convention and conventionalism.

The battle between "classicists," defending Greek and Latin, and realists, advocating the modern subjects, and the conflicts between religious and secular movements have in many countries slowed down the march of a sound public education. The citizens of Philadelphia defeated Franklin's more modern "English School," and the citizens of Paris thwarted Napoleon's attempt to introduce more science. In Germany the very sound *Realschule* of the eighteenth century was held back by the romantic-classicist movement of the early nineteenth century.

However, when a society feels that certain features of the past have become too obsolete to live with and are nevertheless defended by those in power, then revolutionary upheavals may occur, giving the whole house of culture, including the schools, a completely new brush. Even then, after a number of years, some patches of the old paint emerge behind the new. Culture likes color.

The second point one should have in mind while discussing the relation between government and education is that it has never been a one-way passage. Like two stations at the ends of a railway, government and schools

are interconnected, and it is exactly that multifarious and unpredictable factor I have called society which moves to and fro on the rails. Even in the most centralized school systems, say France and Russia, the teachers and educational leaders inside and outside the ministries act as advisers with regard to the selection of the material to be taught, the methods of teaching, and the quality of the textbooks. I sometimes wonder whether the American teacher and his pupils do not suffer more from the tyranny of tests than the French classes from the government-prescribed curriculum.

In addition, just as in the French political administration there are prefectures and minor offices all over the country, so also school commissioners and principals stand between the teacher and the Ministry of Education. Whoever pays a visit to the French highest educational authority will be astonished at the small staff of officials. Decentralization is probably more expensive than centralization. The French teacher organizations, largely syndicalist-Communist before the last world war, and the opinions of prominent statesmen, scholars and writers have been a force no minister of education could dare neglect. In the same vein, recent changes in the Russian school system were certainly influenced by the complaint of physicians that the overburdening of the students may do harm to the national health.

On the other hand, in the highly decentralized United States the government has provided National Land Grants since 1802. Without this "interference," followed by other legislative acts, especially the Smith-Hughes Bill for vocational education in 1917, public education in this country would have been severely retarded. And despite the reluctance of Congress to provide funds even for a meager "Office of Education," established in the 1860's, the duties and responsibilities of the present "Department of Education" have constantly increased and will still increase. Yet it is not a policy-making agency comparable to a European Ministry of Education.

## II

With these general considerations in the background let us now examine the development of the relation between government

and education in some individual countries.<sup>1</sup>

What are the reasons why France created the pattern of educational centralization, largely taken over by the Japanese in the nineteenth century?

Paris became after the end of the Middle Ages the undisputed center of the French nation's political, social, and cultural life. It was looked at with admiration and envy by the privileged classes all over Europe. But in no way was the centralization of France an organic process. By war and cunning it was forced on a territory that could hardly be called a nation. The great vassals of Normandy, Brittany, Burgundy and Aquitaine constantly fought each other and the crown, the domain of which, around the Ile de France, was smaller than theirs. Not until the fifteenth century was the supremacy of the monarchy established; even in the seventeenth century it required the genius of a Richelieu to keep the nobles in check. Only the destruction of regional independence and self-administration could keep the country united. The French people, tired of internal strife, were grateful. And while France gained in territory and international influence, it became also the leading cultural nation of Europe.

It was also in Paris where the Protestant movement that threatened to divide the country was crushed. When Catherine of Medici in 1572 permitted the murder of the Huguenots at the famous Night of St. Bartholomew, she knew exactly what was at stake. The Catholic Church, since 1516 in a close and sometimes servile alliance with the monarchy, showed its gratefulness by lending its hierarchical principles to the support of French absolutism. The glory of Paris, culminating in the period of Louis XIV, was not an unmitigated pleasure; the people were hungry. But the nobility was domesticated and the provinces deprived of initiative. Only in Paris could the rebellion against the exploitation start; and when the new regime discovered that the Vendée and Brittany did not agree and wars against other countries had to be fought, it tightened the reins still more. Thus, when Napoleon was called to rescue the country from chaos, no one could expect that he could do this by decentralization.

In matters educational, action was espe-

cially urgent. After the defeat of Protestantism, the pre-revolutionary monarchy could allow a measure of decentralization in giving the loyal Church, especially the Jesuit Order, control over the schools. But when Napoleon took over, the country was divided into liberals and conservatives, Catholics and free-thinkers, followers of the Bourbon and followers of the new upstart. The school system was almost completely destroyed. What else could Napoleon do in this situation of desolation but to follow the principles already practiced by the European monarchs for hundreds of years, i.e., to use the school system as a vehicle of unification? He said:

Of all political questions this one (on the unification of the teaching profession) deserves perhaps the most attention. There will be no political stability as long as there is no teaching body based on stable principles. So long as children are not taught whether they should be republicans or monarchists, Catholics or free-thinkers . . . the state will not constitute a nation but rest on vague and shifting foundations, ever exposed to disorder and change.

He did his work so thoroughly, creating a closely knit school structure and a course of examinations that permitted the selection of intelligent and politically proper candidates, that every one of the following major political systems of France saw no reason to let this instrument of power out of its hands. Nor did the French people themselves desire a change. Despite heated debates about school reforms and the principle of separation of state and church (finally materialized in 1905) no serious attack has been launched against the centralization of the public school system, including the universities, by the government.

This situation can be explained also in view of the fact that the French are a highly individualistic people. They have gone through a sufficient number of crises to know about their tendency toward factionalism, and they are aware that in all their crises their well trained bureaucracy has saved them from chaos. They acknowledge that it perpetuates a certain class structure and that it is, on the whole, conservative. But they also admit that it is well educated, well

<sup>1</sup> For an extensive treatment of this whole subject I must refer the reader to my recently published books, *The Education of Nations* (Harvard University Press) and *Philosophy of Education* (American Book Company).

trained, more and more impartially selected and that, thank God, it does not care how often quarreling parliamentarians and party leaders change the cabinet.

From the department chiefs in the Paris ministries to the little clerks in the post offices of the Pyrenees, the bureaucracy does its work. And so does the little school teacher who also is a member of the bureaucracy, namely, of the *Université de France*, which means the *universitas* of the French teaching corps from the elementary school up to the Sorbonne. Centralization in France provides the counterbalance to an exaggerated individualism and guarantees a measure of order. (Contrary to general opinion, the individualistic argument could also be used for explaining the German desire for authority. There also it is a kind of flight from chaos).

### III

Let us now look at another centralized country, Russia. Shortly after 1917, Lunacharski, the first Soviet Commissar of Education, wrote:

We all know too well that the American-European school is the school of the bourgeois class. . . . We too must create a class school, the school of the proletarian class. . . . As long as the state exists the school must be a class school; however, the proletarian class consciousness is identical with the universal interests of mankind . . . it compels us to build the foundation of a school as it never existed before.

Just as the Christian Church, the absolutist monarchs, and the French in their revolutionary era understood the importance of indoctrination (though the goals were different), so also the Russians knew that their future depended on the ideological direction of the youth of the country. Only they proceeded more ruthlessly than ever before. Their commissars—the French also had their extremely cruel “commissaires” during and after the revolution—their secret police and their propaganda quickly eradicated all disturbing influences; at the same time they offered the people a so-called “scientific” ideology. Gradually, they also grasped the importance of thorough learning within the prescribed pattern of thought. The achievements stand so clearly before our eyes that there is no need for further detail.

Under the humiliating tyranny of Stalin many of the Russian teachers and scholars would have welcomed a counter-revolution; now they are now proud and loyal. There are probably a number of members in the Russian Academy of Science who know that without the revolution they would be poor and illiterate peasants.

The same will be true of China. There also the revolution has opened the doors of learning. When we pity the fate of intellectuals under the present regime, we may also remember the events which brought it about. An English expert on China, John Gray, wrote in a recent article on “Communism and the Intellectual”:

In fact, the state of the Nationalist Party and Government from the middle of the second world war onwards convinced China's liberals that they could expect from General Chiang Kai-shek neither democracy nor a reforming dictatorship. The nationalists increasingly came to represent the most medieval elements in China's society and they sought to check the decline in their authority by action against the liberal intellectuals which was more repressive if not as efficient as anything the Communists have done since 1949. That repression culminated in the murder of the liberal writers Li Kung-po and Wen I-to in 1946, and continued in indiscriminate purges in the universities.<sup>2</sup>

To be sure, some of China's liberals accepted too hopefully the invitation to freedom of criticism extended by Mao-Tse-tung in his famous Hundred Flower Speech, but it seems their punishment was not terribly severe.

China, as well as Russia, is now one of the great powers, a menace to Western influence all over Asia and perhaps even over wider districts. Enormous harm has been done by the convenient formula, ignorantly accepted up to the Sputnik: communism=government planning=centralization=inefficiency; versus democracy=free enterprise=de-centralization=efficiency. If we want to save democracy and freedom of enterprise, materially as well as spiritually, we have to think in more complicated fashion.

### IV

Yet, we (and the English) have no intention to surrender to communism or totalitarianism of any sort. And we hope that the

<sup>2</sup> *The Listener*, March 9, 1961.

Germans have learned from the Hitler era. This not only because we know that in addition to its amazing achievements communism suffers from a similarly amazing amount of inefficiency, especially in agriculture, but because communism contradicts values we believe belong to the "natural rights of man." In regard to England we think of the Magna Charta, the struggle of Protestants against papal suppression and of Catholics against Protestant bigotry, the fight between Parliament and the absolutist tendencies of the Crown, the writings of Milton and Locke on freedom and tolerance, and the successful, though painful, battle of the working class for recognition as partners in the life of the nation.

There is no need to delineate here the American drama. It is taught to our children in school and constantly retold by our historians. If someone's learning allows a wider view he may add the contributions to the ideal of freedom of almost all the great nations of the world, including those which suffered or still suffer under tyrannies.<sup>3</sup>

Somehow we envision these events as links in the liberation of the human race from oppression and we remember Lord Acton's often quoted statement that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. We also know from history that the lust for absolutism in governments always goes together with centralization, just as a beast of prey contracts its muscles before the jump.

Yet though France's political career cannot be a cause of envy, its cultural and intellectual life flowers and de Gaulle is not a dictator. France's citizens insist less on conformity of behavior than those of the United States and have shown more courage of expression than we had here under McCarthy. Up to the last third of the nineteenth century England's public school system was the most backward of the leading Western countries. Now it shows a genuine experimental spirit, has reorganized its school system according to social and democratic principles, and gives governmental support to the overwhelming number of schools, including the old universities of Oxford and Cambridge which in 1850 furiously protested any criticism by Parliament of their retarded country club existence. England's private schools, such as Eton, Harrow and Winchester, flower

against all expectations we had at the end of World War II, and their "Headmasters' Conference" is still a mighty factor in the nation's cultural and educational life.

Apparently, the independent schools do not mind that they are accredited and inspected by the government. "Her Majesty's School Inspectors," who report to the Ministry of Education about the quality and trustworthiness of the schools of the country, are experienced and well educated government officials. They are willing to recommend for financial support even schools that deviate from the norm, provided they maintain high standards.<sup>4</sup> Though the "Education Act" of 1944, which provides the basis of modern educational policy, evoked a lively debate about the preservation and content of religious education in the public schools, in recent years the state-church issue has aroused little controversy.

Thus, looking at the international scene, we must conclude that centralization of education in France has in no way crippled its cultural life; that for the past 100 years, especially since World War I, England has given the government increasing power over education; and that Russia could not be the mighty competitor of the democracies without its control over the schools. Needless to say, all the nations that must rapidly change from illiteracy to literacy to maintain their independence will try to learn from the Russian example.

## V

Now, to take up once more the editor's question as to what we can learn from studying the government-school relation in other countries, my answer would be: "Nothing in some, and much in other respects." Nothing in terms of direct transfer, because our historical development and our social structure are different from other nations, even from England. And while tradition can become a sacred cow, it can also be a source

<sup>3</sup> In all our colleges and universities a monument should be erected in honor of Baruch Spinoza, who in the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* coined the phrase *libertas philosophandi*, the freedom to think and search.

<sup>4</sup> About the gradual steps in the democratization of the English school system see my *Education of Nations*, p. 102 ff. For a survey of the problem of school aid in Britain, France, West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy, Ireland, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Greece, Latin America and Canada see Fred M. Hechinger's article "School Aid, A Thorny Issue For Many Other Nations" (*New York Times*, March 27, 1961).

of strength and conviction. One should not treat it lightly. On the other hand, we can learn much from comparison; it helps us to think without prejudice and to ask the right questions. This is more important than superficial answers.

These now are the questions I would ask.

1. Government support requires planning on a high level. Do we have the tradition of an unpolitical and well trained officialdom that could make this planning wise, effective and economical? Let us not forget that the quality of European officialdom results from an old tradition, dating back to the rise of absolutism (the greatest planning operation of its time) and adapted gradually to democratic forms of government.

2. On the other hand, have the administrators and teachers on all the levels of education sufficient moral stamina to accept money from above without becoming morally dependent? In other words, can they be bribed by the lure of higher salaries, more buildings, or anything bigger and bigger, into policies detrimental to intellectual freedom? The record of the relation of some colleges and universities to their boards of trustees is all but glorious.

3. To what degree can our traditional state and municipal control of education be harmonized with increased federal influence and, say, with some institution like "Her Majesty's School Inspectors?" For no school, not even parochial schools, can ask the federal government and, indirectly, the taxpayer, to spend money without submitting to desirable standards of teacher education, scholarship and equipment. Fred Hechinger

Robert Ulich taught at Harvard University from 1934 to his retirement in 1960. In addition to his duties as professor of education, he was also a member of the Department of History of Science and Learning and the Harvard Divinity School. He was born in Germany and lived there until 1933. He was Counselor in charge of higher education in the Saxon Ministry of Education from 1923 to 1933. He has written many books in both English and German; his works include *History of Educational Thought* and *The Education of Nations*.

states in his above-mentioned article that despite enormous differences in the relation between a government and education, "the only nearly universal trend is one of definite supervision of educational standards and teacher qualifications by the national or state government over non-public schools once they accept public aid."

4. Even if increased federal control means increased efficiency—efficiency for what? The rise of the modern nation state has been a necessary historical development, but it has also created the immense evils of chauvinist nationalism, of narrow indoctrination, of insistence on conformity of political opinions, of mental and moral "engineering," and of a suppressive, (not only a constructive) bureaucracy, often working in conjunction with a military bureaucracy. Without the institution of the state there could be no civilization, but the state can also become one of the great destroyers unless it considers itself not an end, but an instrument for unfolding the best qualities of mankind in each of its citizens. The state that fails to develop the transcendent qualities in man which lead him toward the appreciation of universal values over and above the selfish goals of nations becomes inevitably the vehicle of modern totalitarianism, irrespective of whether it calls itself a "democracy" or not.

5. Let us be honest. The United States has now entered into a situation of tension between state and church. We hope it will not develop into a "*Kulturkampf*" as in Germany under Bismarck or as in France since 1789. We also hope that all Americans of whatever denomination will accept the wisdom that lies in the separation of state and church. The question must nevertheless be asked as to what degree the increase of federal control over education will increase or diminish the tension.

After all the questions I have raised let me give one advice. Whether or not we like it, education in the United States on all levels will be more and more in need of federal support. Study the English system. England is the only nation that has developed a high degree of socialization and central planning without endangering the "natural rights of man," or the freedom of the individual. On this combination depends the future of Western culture.

*Writing on the administration and structure of the French educational system, this author also discusses France's provisions for aiding private, that is, Church schools. Is the Barançé compromise a lesson for other countries faced with a conflict between public and parochial education?*

# Central Control of French Education

By EUGEN WEBER

*Associate Professor of History, University of California at Los Angeles*

THE MOST conspicuous characteristic of French education is its extreme centralization. Public education is fully administered by the State. Teachers, state-appointed on the basis of competitive examinations after having been trained in a State teachers' college according to national programs laid down by the Ministry of Education, become civil servants, with the advantages and disadvantages that public service involves. Students in the public education system (which accounts for four-fifths of the school-going population) attend schools as nearly identical as human purpose can make them. Napoleon's dream, of every schoolboy in France writing at the same moment the same Latin essay, has not quite been attained. But *ideally* speaking, elementary, secondary and university courses in Paris, Lille, Marseille or Strasbourg are the same, the subjects treated in them are laid down in Paris, and so are their examinations. Exceptions to this rule are due less to individual or local initia-

tives than to lack of means to perfect the present system.

Naturally, schools exist with better facilities than others. Even more naturally, in a land where all activities and aspirations are focused on the center, the best teachers and the best facilities are to be found in Paris and near-by; and this to a degree unknown in a United States (or United Kingdom, or Germany) where half a dozen regional centers have always provided the focus of attraction for political, economic and cultural activities, as well as for personal ambition. How has this situation come about?

Until the 18th century, education in France as in most other countries was the preserve of private, mostly clerical, initiative, directed with few exceptions to a narrow élite that could afford it. Attempts had been made (notably by De la Salle's Brotherhood of Christian Doctrine) to make free elementary education available at the parish level; but on the eve of Revolution, in the 1780's, such schools numbered only some 35,000 pupils throughout the kingdom, and educational innovations (especially those not directed specifically at fashionable circles) were treated with suspicion. The practice, and sometimes the results, of popular education seemed to imply criticism of tradition and of traditional ways. Worse still, suggesting as they did possibilities beyond a person's station in life, the apostles of popular education threatened to undermine established order and beliefs. Hence, schools were not absent from pre-revolutionary France; but they were few, far between, and

Eugen Weber, a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, studied and taught in Paris for several years after the war. He is the author of *The Nationalist Revival in France*, *The Western Tradition*, *Paths to the Present* as well as numerous articles on French affairs. He has just returned from Paris where he was preparing a study of the *Action Française*.

difficult of access for those lacking private means.

In 1789, over half the men and three quarters of the women of France could not read or write. It was the Constituent Assembly, the same which on August 4, 1789, had abolished feudal privileges, which by the law of September 3, 1791, proclaimed every citizen's right to free basic education. But the way from words to deeds was long in those busy days when heads fell as easily as kings. The country, fumbling towards a new and—it hoped—better order, had to wait a long time for democratic promises to be enacted by the most undemocratic of rulers.

The French educational structure was established by Napoleon who, in a series of decrees, created and regulated the *University* to which he attributed "the exclusive charge of teaching and public education throughout the Empire." After 1806, teaching establishments could be created only within the University, or with its permission and under its surveillance. The only exception would be made for priest-training seminaries. The Emperor had set up the instrument he needed to train and indoctrinate his people, and to prepare the cadres of his new regime. Its essence was the State monopoly whose principle has survived to the present day, less strictly applied (as we shall see) than had at first been envisaged, but still directed to the formation and training of good citizens as conceived by the regime, and of educated men (endowed, that is, with a broad general culture and critical technique).

### Free Compulsory Education

Limited means and numerous changes of government (and with it of educational policy) throughout most of the 19th century did not permit the perfection of the system Napoleon had imagined. It was left to the Third Republic to lay down the lines of today's educational establishment. In 1880, secondary schools, until then a male preserve, were opened to girls. At the same time, religious instruction in public schools disappeared. In 1882, elementary education became compulsory and free. The proportion of illiterates, still 20 per cent in 1872, fell by 1910 to 4.2 per cent.

Today, according to the Constitution, "the Nation guarantees equal access of children and adults to instruction, to professional training and to culture. The organization of public education, secular and free, is a duty of the State." For the moment, free compulsory education ends at 14; but children born after January 1, 1953, will be schooled to the age of 16. Above that age, attendance at secondary establishments is free, depending on academic achievement and on the parents' ability to keep their child on at school. At a still higher level, although Universities charge fees, these are nominal and are waived in a good many cases. So, there too, educational opportunity is restricted largely by the student's means of support. To supplement these means, State and local authorities have always sought to provide scholarships; but the amount of these is not sufficient to keep a student who has no other income. Thus, in 1958, 461,000 scholarship-holders, allotted a total of 229,-683,000 N.F. among them, were each getting a little less than 500 N.F. (\$100) a year. By 1960, 689,000 scholars, allotted 354,891,000 N.F., were getting a little more than 510 N.F. (\$102) a year.

The effort to help is evident.<sup>1</sup> Equally evident is the insufficiency of the help. Of course, averages can be misleading: the average scholarship paid to *University* students (as opposed to other categories) amounted to 1,730 N.F. in 1958, and had in 1960 risen to 1,840 N.F.—respectively, \$346 and \$368. But no one can live on thirty-odd dollars a month either, and the French economic structure is not geared to the part-time work that carries so many American students through college. People do work their way through college, but they are the exception, not the rule. For lack of scholarships, France is leaving untapped a vast reservoir of ability and talent it badly needs.

Engaged in a great effort for economic development, the country finds itself short of every kind of skill needed to fill administrative or technical positions. The number of graduates the Universities turn out is not sufficient to fill even eight-tenths of the va-

<sup>1</sup> This appears, for instance, in the field of school books which can weigh heavily on a modest budget. While teachers are free to choose the books they use in their classes, these are then provided free at the elementary level by the local authorities. A generous policy of grants aids secondary students to acquire theirs.

cancies occurring in a stagnant economy, let alone those created by an economy that forges ahead on every front. Delays and bottlenecks are endured—or solved—as best they may be for lack of the necessary trained personnel: not only in industry, but also in agriculture and, not least, in the field of education itself. Nor is the dearth of educational recruits surprising when we know that a beginning teacher (here as elsewhere) earns less than a laborer in the automobile industry, and a school principal less than certain grades of skilled worker. A secondary teacher, whose training qualifies him for college teaching, starts out in Paris (where pay is somewhat higher) at 880 N.F. (\$176) a month, when living costs are comparable to American ones.

But such difficulties are common in some degree to all countries that cultivate the liberal approach to culture as to economy, both considered matters of individual—not social—concern, where (whatever the slogans may be) education continues to be regarded less as a public necessity than as a public convenience, less a matter of common concern than a field for private enterprise.<sup>2</sup>

This old-fashioned treatment of education, and especially of higher education, as a sort of luxury trade appears in the social make-up of the student body of French universities (of which there are seventeen, not counting five "free" Catholic institutions). Seven out of every nine students are sons and daughters of employers, managers, or professional men. Only three per cent are the offspring of workers. Figures of this sort reflect a sort of mandarinate of the elite that perpetuates itself by co-option (generally from the ranks of the elite itself), and a persistent social conservatism in which workers' sons tend to become workers, and doctors' sons to become doctors. This is natural enough. What seems more surprising is that such lack of mobility and *imagination* should be perpetuated in part by the University structure itself, in which the compulsory establishment

(elementary schools and their prolongation in junior high-schools) tends to exist separate from and parallel to the high school and college branch. The two systems recruit and train their students and their teachers from different social classes and in different establishments, while keeping intercommunication down to a minimum.

This curious separatism is due largely to the fact that, whilst all-inclusive, the original University was mainly interested in education at the higher levels. When the Third Republic reaffirmed the principles of 1791 and proceeded to apply them in practice, the structure of a public elementary system, free of Church control, had to be created almost overnight and sometimes against very heavy odds. Thus, alongside the existing "elitist" establishment, a second establishment grew up—self-consciously democratic and "plebeian," separate in leadership, dynamism and orientation, if not in administrative fact.

Beside the old-established *lycées* and universities frequented by the well-to-do, elementary schools served as temples of the Republic, their teachers as its missionaries. To prepare the thousands of teacher-pioneers, special *normal schools* were set up which turned out men and women dedicated to train democratic citizens as well as educate them. Now that the heroic times of the Republic are over, now that future teachers need be no longer segregated in special nurseries, the myth survives and also, naturally, the vested interests of a long-standing order which, like every other, has its tenants and its beneficiaries. So, the segregation persists and, with it, a class division that the progressive-minded teachers would be the first to condemn, but which they reinforce by insisting that the popularly-recruited elementary ladder should continue to function side by side with the secondary-university one.

#### Administration

With this important exception apart, the educational system does its best to adhere to the French tradition of logical and schematic organization. To what extent it succeeds may be judged by a glance at its administrative and hierachic structure. We have seen that the central authority, i.e., the State, has the privilege of setting examinations and

<sup>2</sup> The French tax structure, on the other hand, which lends itself so readily to private enterprise in the realm of fraud and tax evasion, does nothing to encourage the philanthropic and cultural gifts and foundations that play such an important part in Anglo-Saxon society, and that could help to remedy the lack of study and research grants, libraries, and other facilities, that hampers French students and educators. Once again French reason operates to the detriment of French imagination: so much so that we find French millionaires endowing Oxford colleges while in their own country research and education linger in the doldrums.

awarding degrees at every stage of the educational ladder. It follows from this that the teaching, oriented by and towards examinations, tends to be similar throughout the nation and its dependencies, whether in Dijon, in Tahiti or in Martinique. As Napoleon never imagined, but in line with the principles he laid down a century and a half ago, little Negroes and Polynesians continue to learn their history from the same books as little Frenchmen, beginning in Chapter I with "our ancestors, the Gauls. . . ."

While talk of regionalism goes on unabated, local authorities have no influence on the things taught in local schools, and local realities very little. Parents' Associations exist in some places, but hardly anyone pays them any heed, least of all the teachers. No concessions are made to regional or other differentiating characteristics. And occasional initiatives tending to emphasize, say, Breton traditions in the schools of Brittany, remain isolated and ineffective before the resolutely centralizing policy of the administration, and the just-as-resolutely egalitarian mentality of the teachers.

The fact is that the French mind finds it very difficult to conceive equality without identity; and that attempts at differentiation in regional terms tend to appear undemocratic in France, just as attempts at differentiation in terms of ability tend to be condemned in the United States. Both prejudices are, to say the least, naive; but of the two, the latter is certainly the more idiotic.

People are saying that the "terminal" classes of the compulsory structure—in which compulsory education terminates at 16—will seek to adapt their courses to regional or local circumstances, providing a different emphasis, for instance, according to whether the region is a wine-growing or wheat-growing one, mining or maritime, and so forth. But no "terminal" classes will start to function until 1967, when children born in 1953 begin to benefit from the provisions of the law that has prolonged free compulsory education from 14 to 16. So all this talk remains no more than the expression of pious hopes. Whatever happens, one can predict that differentiation in teaching will never go beyond matters of detail. The hard core of public education will always remain the same in town or country, north or south.

Administratively speaking, the French structure can be described in the simplest of terms. At the top, the Minister of Education. Below him, the Rector of the Academy: the Academy being not a school, but the whole public education structure throughout a given region. There are 16 Academies in France, to which we may continue to add yet awhile a seventeenth at Algiers. They vary in size, including in their territory between three and nine Departments each (the Department being, since the Revolution, the geographical-administrative division of France). Thus, the Academy of Paris has over ten million inhabitants and 1.5 million students; that of Besançon—the smallest—has less than 900,000 inhabitants, and only 100,000 students.

At the head of each Academy, we find the Rector: a sort of *missus dominicus*, representative of the Minister, depository of his policy and of his thought, sole and supreme responsible educational official in his region, who governs it through delegates called Academy Inspectors, each of whom represents him in one Department. At every level of the educational structure the Rector, and under him the Academy Inspectors, rule and govern it, deciding or approving budgets, contracts, appointments, promotions, transfers, examinations and degrees, under the superior authority of the Minister in Paris.

One is tempted to think that a system so highly centralized must be wide open to political influence and interference which would hamper and corrupt it, favoring those with friends at court, treating professorial chairs like federal postmasterships, and appointing college bursars when no tobacco bureaus happen to be vacant. We shall see that, in an important sense, the University does depend on the vagaries of politics and, what is worse, of politicians; but such dependence stops at the University gate and with its budget. Political interference in its internal affairs is almost unheard of. That this is so is due in part to the cohesion and professional pride of the members of the University, that is, the teachers. It is also due, however, to the immense prestige and real power of the Rector, that curious and original figure, at once representative of the Minister—hence of the State—and of the University (its teachers and traditions).

It follows from this that the teaching, while administratively dependent on the central—political—power, remains in practice independent of it because of the rectorial and academic structure that protects the teachers and their freedom of expression. The teachers know this. They have done their best to strengthen the rectorial “screen” between them and the State. They affirm, whenever possible, their dependence not on the direct State power represented in every Department by the Prefect, but on the intermediate authority of the Rector. Thus, after the Liberation, elementary school teachers whose nominations and transfers used to be signed by the local Prefect demanded successfully that the formality should henceforth be carried out under the authority of the Rector of the Academy.

However, the schools and colleges of the public structure, created and provided for by the State, do not have the monopoly of educational enterprise. Napoleon’s dream has collapsed in the whirlwinds he himself had helped to sow, and perhaps it is just as well. Today, teaching establishments exist beside the public ones, whose upkeep is the business of private bodies or persons, of professional and religious organizations, and especially of Catholic ones.

#### Private Education

Like that which still prevails in the United States, the educational theory of the Third Republic had held that public funds should go only to public schools. Parents were free to send their children to any school they wished. The State put its schools at the disposal of the public, but refused its aid to private bodies or persons who did not choose to use them. Since, after 1880, state schools provided no religious instruction, such a policy was strenuously opposed by the Catholic Church to which, formally at least, the great majority of the French belong. The Catholic Church had played an immensely important part in educational—as in all other—activities over many centuries, and its members continued to furnish the majority of the teaching profession until the end of the nineteenth century. It considered free secular education as a political move and as a deliberate attempt to harm Catholic influence and interests; and it opposed it. Nor

is there much doubt that, while not in itself anti-Catholic, the public schools’ religious neutrality did not operate to the advantage of formal religion.

But the religious debate went far beyond the purely religious field. In a thousand parishes, the priest preaching salvation through Christ and the teacher preaching salvation through scientific progress symbolized a more fundamental opposition, no less real for being founded on unnecessary misunderstandings. For the secular public school taught and defended the revolutionary and democratic tradition and values whose creation it was; and it was opposed, for this very reason, by all the conservative forces that feared the ferment of change its teachings introduced in a society and a social order they wished to preserve unchanged.

It so happens that the violence and the vagaries of the French Revolution had forced the Church into the conservative camp and, while nowise necessarily predisposed to conservatism—let alone reaction—the Church and the Catholic party thereafter arrayed themselves against the “revolutionary” tradition to which the democratic republicans harked back. The Third Republic was established against Catholic opposition. It is not surprising that, when it got into the saddle, the new regime sought to build up an educational structure free of the clerical influence which it equated with reaction, and dedicated this new education to the formation of good republicans: citizens for the liberal democracy France was destined to become. It was not surprising, either, that the more fervent Catholics, embattled in their turn, resented having to pay taxes for schools they did not want to use.

The difference between the two points of view was aggravated by their political implications, and the issue continues to furnish a bloody shirt for every demagogue who will but stoop to pick it up. In spite of this, however, the issue is more than demagogic. For the French Constitution of 1958 specifies that “France is an indivisible, *secular*, democratic and social Republic,” and thus implies that religious considerations, like racial ones, do not concern the State or its services. In French schools, one day a week is set aside for children who wish (or whose parents wish for them) to receive religious instruction off

the school premises. And special treatment for church schools, argue the opponents of such treatment, comes down to a subsidy or discrimination in favor of what is merely a particular opinion and the pressure group that represents it.

Why, if religious opinions are to receive special grants, should not political or philosophical opinions—at least those of some numerical importance—receive them too? There are several million Catholics who want school facilities of their own paid out of public funds; but there are several million Communists who also vote and who also pay taxes and who would certainly like to make a similar claim. On what grounds should they be refuted, without attributing to religious opinions as such an importance that we deny all others, and which the Constitution specifically refuses to recognize?

To this, Catholics reply that the religion of most Frenchmen is more than a particular opinion, that the symbol once and for long inscribed on the nation's banners is part of France's history, of its very nature, and can be ignored only at its peril. And they add that taxing Catholics without giving them some return in the direction they want, insisting on the contrary that they should imperil their and their children's souls, is sheer injustice—and worse. They could go farther, and say that religious neutrality is nonsense when the question at stake is whether ultimate truth should prevail. Christians, or rather Catholics, stand for the Truth. Between Truth and Untruth, between Right and Wrong, there can be no neutrality; and the State that pretends to it deludes itself and corrupts its citizens.

#### Concessions to Catholic Schools

As usual, arguments of this nature are settled not in terms of convincingness, but of political power. The presence of Catholics in most governmental coalitions that have ruled France since 1944 has secured them a number of important concessions. First, scholarships for secondary students which they could use in either public or private schools. Then, by a law of September, 1951, known after its sponsor as the Barangé law, a special allocation was created to be paid by the State to the teaching establishment, public or private, of each parent's choice.

By recognizing the principle of public funds being paid out on individual indications, the Barangé law marked an important point for the supporters of "free" education. And their victory was confirmed by another law—of December, 1959—which, ignoring previous subterfuges, stipulated that, under certain conditions, the State could aid private schools and colleges directly.

The administration of this law is very largely dependent on the tendencies and the orientation of the government in power. A right-wing government, such as that which rules in France today, is ready for every concession to Catholic pressure groups on whose support it counts. A government of another complexion would run things differently. Certainly nothing has been settled, and the debate between State control and "free" education, which had died down since 1951 with widespread acceptance of the Barangé compromise, has only been revived and envenomed by the law of 1959.

An important source of dissatisfaction, both in the University and in the country as a whole, is the fact that—partly because of the high costs of constant colonial conflicts—the budget of national education has been consistently lower than the level of even its most pressing needs. Unable to find money for badly-needed buildings, salaries, scholarships and equipment, the State now proceeds to deduct from an already insufficient public school budget the funds for aiding the deficient private schools.

The supporters of the new measure argue that, short of teachers and of schools, the State should welcome what help the private, i.e., Church schools can give. In the circumstances, however, their cooperation swallows the very funds needed to remedy the deficiencies of the public sector. Short of money for public education, tightening tight budgets yet further, the present policy, say its opponents, can only perpetuate an unsatisfactory situation while strengthening the schools of the private field which give the least assurance of meeting minimum standards of quality, and keeping alive marginal enterprises whose capacity (and, indeed, reasons) for survival seemed doubtful.

Teachers and students both have strongly opposed this departure from the republican

(Continued on p. 360)

Discussing the "growing vocational orientation of the Soviet school" in the past few years, this author warns that "the new school program . . . may lead to even greater cynicism and unwillingness to take an active part in the building of communism than now exists. . . . This is the basic problem of an educational system which is highly centralized and whose directions are determined without a serious effort to find an accommodation between public and private goals."

# Government and Schools in the U.S.S.R.

By HANS ROGGER

*Professor of Russian and European History, Sarah Lawrence College*

THE BOLSHEVIK LEADERS who seized power in Russia in October, 1917, were deeply committed to the establishment of a system of mass education which would be universal and freely accessible to all whom financial or social disabilities had previously kept out of private or state schools. Theoretical as well as practical considerations made it incumbent upon the rulers of the new state to devote a great deal of attention to educational problems and institutions. The school (and we shall limit ourselves to primary and secondary education), one of the critical institutions of society, was to serve as a major instrument of planned social, economic and political change. The values, the skills, the personnel needed to effect the transformation of Russia to socialism and eventually to communism had, to a large extent, to come out of the school. This

was to be especially true as long as family, farm and factory were incapable, or unwilling, to transmit new values and disciplines, as long as the attitudes they induced might still be hostile or indifferent to the state.

This concept of the school's role helps to explain some of the neglect which traditional subject matter suffered in the early years of Soviet educational experimentation. The Russians, by the manner of their coming to power, by the appeals they had made against the Tsarist system in the name of an egalitarian doctrine, had also created among the mass of the population expectations which they could not have disavowed or even restricted at this early stage without endangering what support they possessed. Thus, popular pressures, ideology and the needs of a new society for loyal and trained citizens came together to make the expansion of educational opportunity one of the cardinal tenets of the Soviet state.

Hans Rogger was formerly lecturer in the school of General Studies, Columbia University. A fellow at the Russian Research Center, Harvard University, 1951-1953, he travelled through the Soviet Union in the summer of 1957. He was on leave from Sarah Lawrence in 1961-1962 to do research at the Russian Research Center, and is the author of *National Consciousness in Eighteenth Century Russia*. This fall he will be Associate Professor of History, U.C.L.A.

A. V. Lunacharskii, the People's Commissar of Education in the first Soviet government, set forth on October 29, 1917, the basic tasks in the field of education: the provision of free, compulsory, universal, primary schooling; general accessibility of schools of all levels (i.e., without distinctions of race, sex, or ability to pay; there was in the early years discrimination against children of the former privileged classes in admission to higher educational institutions); secularization of schools; the democratization of education; a measure of local and national differentiation; the participation of teachers in

the planning of the new system; and a generous measure of financial support by the state.<sup>1</sup>

To Americans today this may appear to be neither a very ambitious program nor one which would seem to have been difficult of achievement. Yet some of its most basic goals were, under Russians conditions, both revolutionary and hard to realize. This became even more true when party and government in subsequent months further elaborated their educational programs, talked of free compulsory general and polytechnical education for all children up to the age of 17 in a unified course of instruction, of providing students with food, clothing and books, of the training of new teaching staffs imbued with the spirit of communism, and of making a higher education available to all who desired it.<sup>2</sup> Under any circumstances, carrying out these aims would have posed staggering problems; under those in which a backward country found itself at the end of a war and in the midst of revolution, the problems were nearly insurmountable.

There were, of course, certain formal, purely organizational changes that could be brought about immediately, such as the removal of the Church from any control over educational establishments and placing them under the over-all jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Education; placing control over schools at the local level in the hands of the Councils of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies (Soviets); the dissolution of the old Teachers' Union for "counter-revolutionary activities" and its replacement by one more loyal to the regime.<sup>3</sup>

But none of these steps could, of themselves, bring the main targets within closer reach. Deficiencies and shortages in buildings, equipment, personnel and finances could not be removed with a stroke of the pen or by administrative reorganization, and from the very start a disparity between broadly conceived aims and the practical difficulty of their realization has been one of the tensions inherent in the Soviet educational system and has at various times led to a redefinition of aims. If one looks at certain central points of the Russian educational program as formulated in the early years, it is possible to take some measure of successes as well as of failure and difficulties.

Where Lunacharskii in 1917 had with some degree of realism called for universal, compulsory education through the elementary grades (a goal which it had been estimated before the Revolution might be reached by 1922), the Communist party half a year later committed itself to the promise of a secondary education for children of both sexes, that is nine instead of four years of schooling. In 1931, 10 years of schooling for all up to age 18 were called for. But it was not until that very same year (1931), that the four-year primary course was made compulsory, and not until about three years later (1934) that primary schooling came close to being universal. The ten-year school, which was the proclaimed standard and pattern from the early 1930's until the late 1950's, never was made compulsory. Even the seven year education (made compulsory in 1949), though it was said to have become universal in 1952, was completed by only 80 per cent of those who entered the first grade in 1958.<sup>4</sup>

The picture which emerges from these figures is one of a consistent, though not consistently successful drive to expand educational opportunity and facilities through the secondary school, to make accessible to all, if not the academic ten-year school, at least ten years of schooling with a greater polytechnical and vocational emphasis after 1952. Although the original goals of nine or ten years of compulsory education for all were not attained, the results achieved have been impressive. The number of schools doubled between 1922-1923 and 1955-1956, while the number of students during that span of time increased four-fold, to about 30 million. The proportion of students who graduated from the ten-year school also increased four times between 1950 and 1958, from 220,000 to 1,340,000.

In no other country, with the exception of the United States, is so large a proportion of the population involved in some kind of

<sup>1</sup> I. A. Kairov, and others, eds., *Narodnoe Obrazovanie v SSSR* (Moscow, Akademiia Pedagogicheskikh Nauk, 1957), p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> KPPS v rezoliutsiakh i resheniakh sezdov, konferentsii i plenarov TsK (Moscow, 1954), vol. I. p. 419.

<sup>3</sup> Kairov, *Narodnoe Obrazovanie*, pp. 30-35.

<sup>4</sup> See Nicholas DeWitt, "Upheaval in Education," *Problems of Communism*, VIII, Jan.-Feb., 1959, p. 29; A. G. Korol, *Soviet Education for Science and Technology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 3.

formal learning; in none is the proportion of youth getting a higher education greater, except in the United States (10 per cent in the U.S.S.R., 33 per cent in the United States); and only in the United States does a larger percentage of the appropriate age group complete a secondary school.<sup>5</sup> This is an impressive record by any test, but it does not touch on what remain to this day some very critical problems of the Soviet educational system. The very successes of the drives for expansion and universality, which stimulated popular demands for further advances in this direction, lie at the basis of these problems and have recently led the political and educational authorities of the U.S.S.R. to take a fresh look at their schools, have led them in effect to an abandonment of plans to make a uniform, secondary education compulsory for all young people up to the ages of 17 or 18.

A variety of related difficulties led to this re-examination. In spite of the fact that only three in ten youngsters finished ten-year schools, there were too many graduates clamoring for admission to limited facilities in higher education. There is also a serious deficit of young people in the age groups 15 through 19 (due to war-time birth deficits), which not only affected the schools but also caused labor shortages. And finally, there were the effects of the long-standing emphasis on education as an honorable and noble pursuit which caused many young people to look on a higher education as the certain road to success and advancement.

The combination of these factors was, apparently, judged sufficiently critical to lead after 1958 to open admissions that the goal of universal, secondary education had not been achieved and that it might be advisable to scrap it and to be more realistic about what was needed and what was possible. The resulting discussions were heavily weighted with ideological and moral considerations; there was talk of creating a Socialist respect for honest labor among youth and the need to establish closer links between the school and life, but the practical concerns were still visible.

In calling in 1960 for the implementation of the plan for universal eight-year education,<sup>6</sup> the Deputy Minister of Education of the Russian Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) noted

that up to that time not even the target of a universal seven-year education had been reached. He pointed to a memorandum of Premier Khrushchev to the Central Committee of the Communist party which had stated that although required by law, a considerable fraction of students did not complete the seventh grade. Millions of children, it was now recognized, did not receive a seven-year or even an elementary schooling, so great was the number of drop-outs each year. There were children, especially in the country districts, whose education stopped at the fourth or fifth grade, and sometimes earlier. The critical need to get more young people into the labor force, to train them for industry and end their preoccupation with obtaining an advanced education, has brought about extraordinary frankness about the failure to achieve compulsory, universal ten-year schooling.

The new goal is eight years of schooling, and the transition to it is to be completed by 1962-1963. Its adoption is the first major modification of a principle which had been adhered to for over 40 years—that of universal, compulsory, secondary education. Although a retreat from that principle, the eight-year school will in practice be an advance over the present situation. It shows at least a greater degree of realism. But difficulties which plagued the system so far will not disappear overnight. In rural regions, lack of transport and physical facilities are a persistent handicap, and there are still double and even triple-shift schools in many localities.

These problems are not unique to the Soviet Union, nor can they be traced exclusively to the nature of the Soviet system. There are few developed countries which have not proclaimed as public policy a wide expansion of educational opportunity; few in which public pressures have not strained existing facilities and led to demands for more; few in which a government, because of other priorities or public reluctance to foot the bill, has been able to devote as much of the national income to education as would

<sup>5</sup> DeWitt in *Problems of Communism*, p. 30; G. Bereday and others, *The Changing Soviet School* (Boston, Mass., 1960), p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> In *Narodnoe Obrazovanie*, no. 6, 1960; see *Soviet Education*, III, November, 1960, pp. 47-48.

be necessary to end all overcrowding, all shortcomings in buildings and equipment.

With the exception of the United States, probably no other country has been as successful as the Soviet Union in the provision of a uniform system of free education at the primary and secondary levels. Much the more important question, for purposes of comparison, is what Russian boys and girls learned or will learn in seven or eight years of school and the uses to which this learning will be put.

### The Curriculum

It has been evident for some years now that the formidable academic emphasis which characterized the Soviet school since the early 1930's is being modified. There has also been a retreat from the principle of uniformity which refused to allow for any diversification in the curriculum (or a multi-track system) on the basis of students' abilities or inclinations except in some highly specialized cadet or art schools. An egalitarian doctrine and the environmental bias of social and psychological theory demanded that every child enter a school of an identical type, be exposed to identical subject matter and have the same chance as every other to qualify for further education. This undifferentiated, heavily academic curriculum is now seen to have taken no account of differences in innate ability. Clearly, if millions of children dropped out of school before completing seven or fewer years of schooling, there was something wrong with continued planning for a stiff ten-year program for all.

It was, however, the needs of industry, rather than an outright revision of assumptions about the learning process, that motivated the educational reforms. Beginning in 1952, party and government insistently called for supplementing academic subject matter with training in manual and production skills. Since the students' work load was already excessively heavy, it was hardly feasible to add to it, and supplementation came in time to mean replacing academic with non-academic subjects, as well as periodic practice assignments in factories and on farms. The shift was as yet slight. A table compiled by Alexander Korol<sup>7</sup> shows that the amount of time the ten-year cur-

riculum gave to non-academic subjects increased between 1952-1953 and 1955-1956 by somewhat less than seven per cent, and that most of this increase took place at the expense of the humanities rather than the sciences. A number of experimental programs went a good deal further than this, but the over-all pattern remained little changed.

More fundamental revisions began to be proposed in 1957, and they went beyond any previously made. School attendance was to be extended to 12 years, with only the first eight years being both uniform and compulsory, while the last four grades would branch out in a number of different directions: physical-mathematical and technical; biological and agricultural; socio-economic and the humanities. There were also to be vocational schools for young people who did not continue in one of these programs after the eighth grade. The principle of the unified school had been abandoned, though the goal of education accessible to all had not.

This proposal too was held to be inadequate. The school reform adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in December, 1958<sup>8</sup>, not only retained curriculum diversification after a certain point; it gave up, for all practical purposes, the long-proclaimed dedication to the ideal of universal education through ages 17 or 18. There may still be training of one kind or another after the eight-year school, but only specially gifted children will be able to continue with an academic curriculum and qualify for admission to advanced educational institutions without prior service in industry or the armed forces. Their less talented contemporaries (and what problems the determination of talent will create!) will at age 15 proceed to a vocational labor or technical school or go directly to work. In any case, all their further study will have to be carried on in connection with some form of socially useful labor, on a part-time basis.

The curriculum of the new eight-year school reveals the purposes behind its introduction.<sup>9</sup> A total of 1315 hours is to be

<sup>7</sup> Soviet Education for Science and Technology, p. 60.

<sup>8</sup> DeWitt in *Problems of Communism*, p. 33.

<sup>9</sup> E. I. Monoszon, "Contents of Education in the Eight-Year School," *Sovetskaia Pedagogika*, no. 6, 1960, translated in *Soviet Education*, III, January, 1961, pp. 3-13.

devoted to manual training, as against 330 hours in the seven-year curriculum of 1955-1956. The humanities and social sciences (i. e., Russian language and literature, history, constitution of the U.S.S.R., a foreign language) will take up 39.5 per cent of student time, as compared with 46.4 per cent. The sciences and mathematics are assigned 32.5 per cent, a decline of only 2 per cent. Manual training and socially useful work account for 15.3 per cent of the eight-year course as compared with 5.2 per cent in the seven-year course. Drawing, music and singing have remained at essentially the same level, while the time given to physical culture has declined by somewhat less than 2 per cent.

The substantial increase in the proportion of the curriculum devoted to manual training is striking, as is the further decline in the humanities and social science subjects. Even the relatively slight decline in the science percentages must take into account that greater stress in science teaching is to be paid to practical application of scientific principles, for example, learning to use the water level in physics courses. There will be sewing in manual training courses and self-service work (cleaning, maintenance, and so forth) in the elementary grades.

The trend that began with relatively modest changes in 1955-1956 has continued and become more pronounced, with the proportion of the curriculum in the humanities and social sciences declining from 50.5 per cent in 1952-1953 to 46.4 per cent in 1955-1956 (in the seven-year school) to 39.5 per cent in the eight-year school. It is too early to say what effect this most recent change will have on the quality of the education that Russian youngsters receive. In the area of scientific and technical subjects it will still be a respectable program. This will, in fact, mean that three or four years from now all of them will receive eight years of schooling; this will be an advance over a situation where even seven years was not a universal phenomenon and where ten years of academic training was for most of them a bright promise that was too often disappointed.

It will not be easy to implant quickly the growing vocational orientation of the Soviet school. This orientation may serve to keep down the number of those who believe that

they are entitled to further schooling and a cushy job, but it will not solve all problems. It will leave a good many disgruntled youngsters (and parents) feeling pushed in directions they dislike; and it will close off for many education as the only avenue of advancement and individual fulfillment that Soviet society has to offer. If the new school program fails to find general acceptance, it may not answer the purposes for which it was instituted. It may lead to even greater cynicism and unwillingness to take an active part in the building of communism than now exist, an attitude which the reforms were designed to overcome. This is the basic problem of an educational system which is highly centralized and whose directions are determined without a serious effort to find an accommodation between public and private goals.

#### **Government, Party, and School**

Comparisons of American and Soviet education have rarely failed to point to the high degree of local direction and autonomy in the former and the high degree of governmental planning and centralization in the latter as distinguishing features of the two systems. Whatever changes may have taken place in the Soviet curriculum recently to bring it closer to the diversified and practical offerings of the American school, and whatever may happen in the near future to establish more uniform and more demanding standards for American schools, neither system is likely to depart sufficiently from its basic orientation to remove this very real difference. The "measure of local and national differentiation" mentioned by Lunacharskii in 1917 has never meant, and was never intended to mean, the abandonment of overall direction and control. The educational system in the U.S.S.R. has not only been a tool for planned social and economic change, and highly responsive therefore to national goals as defined by the planners, but it has also, like the Communist party, had the function of holding together a diverse, multi-national population in a vast territory.

In the view of the rulers the very concession of a limited and formal degree of administrative autonomy in government and the economy makes all the more necessary the retention of central organs whose author-

ity extends over the whole country, unhindered by regional boundaries or local interests. This is equally true in the field of education. Although each level of government has its own Ministry or Board of Education, and although the Soviet has no Ministry of Education which deals with primary and secondary schools throughout the country, there is nonetheless central direction and control. This may be exercised in a variety of ways.

On matters of real importance, such as the introduction of the eight-year school, basic policy discussions are apt to be initiated and decisions taken by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. These decisions will then usually be issued as decrees or laws by the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. Quite frequently these two bodies, one representing the party and the other the government, will jointly issue resolutions or instructions that have for all subordinate government and party organs the force of law. In addition, the Section on School Affairs of the Party's Central Committee may periodically issue educational directives which each Ministry of Education in the 15 constituent republics of the U.S.S.R. is obligated to carry out. The largest and most populous of these, the Russian Republic (RSFSR), plays through its Ministry of Education a special role. On the basis of prior policy decisions made by top leadership, it develops standards and models for instructional methods and curricula which serve as guides for the rest of the country.

Local and national differentiation means little more than the adoption, with minor modifications or translation into local languages, of techniques and programs worked out in the Administration on Instruction of the RSFSR Ministry of Education or its Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.

Immediate administrative supervision of the schools is everywhere carried out by local public education boards. Their task is the preparation of individual school budgets, in accordance with approved estimates, of enrollment, building and staff needs, and the inspection of schools to see that directives of the Ministries of Education are carried out. These boards also appoint school directors, heads of curriculum departments in the

schools, foremen of school workshops and, in fact, all instructional personnel. There is also, in each school, a so-called Pedagogical Council, which includes besides administrators and teachers of the school, the senior Young Pioneer leader, the school doctor, the chairman of the Parents' Committee, and a representative of the economic enterprise which acts as patron of the school. The functions of this body are defined only in the most general terms: "to discuss and solve the chief problems of instruction and education."<sup>10</sup> It is fairly certain, however, that its role is one of general supervision over the activities of the school. Its widely representative composition is designed to make certain that purely professional or purely local interests will not prevail over general plans and policies.

The recruitment of teachers is also carried out by local education boards. Teacher training takes place in pedagogical institutes and universities which are under the jurisdiction of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education which determines programs for the entire country and exercises control over accreditation. Local boards inform the pedagogical institutes and universities of their personnel requirement and graduates may then apply for the available positions.

There is every assurance so far that the Soviet educational structure will continue to be firmly guided from the center. At each level of government, party and education, there are interlocking systems of control watching over performance and finances in the spirit of over-all plans. A good example of the way in which the highest organs of party and government, as well as the lowest, continue to be deeply involved in matters concerning primary and secondary education—for which, it must be remembered, the central government has no ministry—is furnished by a recent joint party and government decree on school construction.<sup>11</sup>

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union "obligated" the State Planning Commission, the Councils

<sup>10</sup> "The Statute on Eight-Year Schools," translated in *Soviet Education*, II, no. 12 (October, 1960), p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> "O shkol'nom stroitel'stve . . .," *Sovetskaya, Rossiya*, August 10, 1960.

of Ministers of each of the Union Republics and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Communications to make adequate provision in their capital budgets for the construction of general and boarding schools. Government and party organs in each of the republics and at almost every level down to the smallest unit of local government were specifically instructed to see to the execution of school building plans, and the governments of the Union republics were instructed to organize the production of school benches, laboratory and other school equipment after models shown at a national furniture exhibition and approved by the State Building Committee.

Any system which is so carefully concerned to prescribe for the amount and kind of equipment found in the country's school rooms is little inclined to part with any significant controls in matters of educational content and method. What signs of decentralization there have been suggest that their purpose is the more efficient execution of centrally determined plans and programs.

Such a high degree of central direction confers distinct advantages: uniformity of standards and, to a lesser degree, of performance; greater ease of planning on a national basis; greater predictability of results and, in the short run at least, an assured supply of required skills and specialties. The disadvantages are perhaps less obvious. They often make themselves felt only as the result of policies pursued for some time. In this way, the early period of Soviet educational experimentation, with its neglect of academic training, failed to produce people who were sufficiently well-trained and disciplined to operate in an increasingly complex industrial society. After a further twenty years, the graduates of the newly academically-oriented Soviet school were felt to be over-trained for labor in industry and agriculture and disdainful of such labor.

And the latest experiment in "polytechnicization" may turn out, after another decade, to have interrupted the development of a whole generation of talented and inventive scholars and researchers whose work on fundamental problems of science might have benefited industry more than the current input of labor. Planned changes are always apt to have unplanned consequences, and some of these are unforeseeable.

## Conclusion

The standardized, national approach to education in the U.S.S.R. has succeeded in the course of the last 40 years in creating a system of mass education which has given to its young people a substantial measure of educational opportunity, and which has served as a cohesive force in holding together a vast country composed of diverse elements. It has turned out citizens who accept the basic premises on which the regime rests and who are given a training designed to enable them to fill roles foreseen for them by the state. The regime has had to do all this at some cost to its originally professed goals and values. At present it is not possible to speak of free educational choice and equal educational opportunity as Soviet goals. Tuition fees, it is true, have again been abolished in secondary schools and institutions of higher learning, but the most recent school reform will determine early who is to have a chance for further education after the initial eight years.

Although such a determination is not to be made on the basis of ability to pay, social or ethnic background, there is enough evidence to suggest that talent and ability are not completely neutral criteria. Environment continues to play its role, even in an educational system as uniform and standardized as the Soviet one. Home influences, geographical location (urban schools and learning opportunities are still superior to rural ones), and other factors help to increase or decrease a child's chances.

Perfect equality is perhaps unattainable, and the Soviet leaders have so far tried to resist the perpetuation of privilege. But the abandonment of the complete secondary school as a goal for all and the sharp restriction of educational choice may become divisive factors among Soviet youth and lead to further changes in the educational system. The basic question is no longer whether educational opportunity for all qualified students has been equalized, but whether equal opportunity is given to all students to qualify. At the moment this does not seem to be the case, although it is impossible on the basis of available data to say how the Soviet record in this regard compares with that of other countries.

*Discussing the role of the government in British education, this authority observes that "the old distrust of government intervention in education has disappeared and it is doubtful whether anybody would be disposed today to question the right of the State to be a partner in a national enterprise which is clearly of benefit to the nation as a whole as well as to individual welfare."*

# The British Model: Government and Education

By I. L. KANDEL

*Professor Emeritus of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University*

THE ESTABLISHMENT of a national system of education in Great Britain<sup>1</sup> was delayed for many years after other nations had set up such systems. It was feared that a state-provided system of education would inevitably mean state control and dictation of what was to be taught in the schools. Although the provision of education for the masses was advocated by some of the leading minds of the time—Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, Lord Brougham among others—every attempt in the early years of the nineteenth century to secure parliamentary action to create a state system of education failed because of this fear.

Uniformity and bureaucracy, it was felt, would endanger freedom of thought and experimentation. Joseph Priestley, for ex-

ample, objected to state interference

as prejudicial to the proper design of education, and also to the great ends of civil societies with respect to their utility; but more especially, as tending to interrupt their progress to a state of greater perfection than they have yet attained to.

The doctrine of *laissez faire* dominated British thought throughout the nineteenth century and was most clearly expressed by John Stuart Mill in a famous passage of his essay *On Liberty*:

That the whole or any large part of the education of a people should be in State hands I go as far as anyone in deprecating. All that has been said of the importance of individuality of character and diversity in opinions and modes of conduct, involves, as of the same unspeakable importance, diversity of education. A general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another, and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government, whether this be a monarchy, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation, in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body.

While Mill was willing to see the State establish and maintain schools as one among many competing types to demonstrate certain standards, Herbert Spencer was opposed to state interference of any kind and to state taxation for education. He objected

I. L. Kandel has been a visiting professor in a number of American universities and is Emeritus Professor of American Studies at the University of Manchester (England). For 20 years, 1924-1944, he edited the Educational Yearbooks of the International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University; from 1946 to 1953 he held the editorship of *School and Society*. His important works include *History of Secondary Education*, *Comparative Education*, *The New Era in Education*, *American Education in the Twentieth Century* and *William Chandler Bagley: Stalwart Educator*.

<sup>1</sup> Scotland has its own system of education under the Scottish Department of Education, and Northern Ireland under a Ministry of Education. For matters affecting education in Wales there is a Welsh Department of the Ministry in Cardiff.

to "the Communist plan of doing everything for everybody," and was particularly afraid that the State would seek to mould its citizens according to its own design and to serve its own purposes.

The task that the State failed to perform was undertaken by voluntary, philanthropic organizations, influenced by humanitarian and religious motives to repair the damage and the inequities produced on children in the early years of the industrial revolution. In 1833, a year after the Reform Act was passed, a grant of £20,000 a year was voted by Parliament to be divided between the two major organizations maintaining schools—the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, founded in 1811, and the British and Foreign School Society, founded in 1808 and chartered in 1814. Six years later a Committee of the Privy Council was created to superintend the distribution of the funds and inspection was made a condition for receiving grants. Here was a slight entering wedge for government action in education, followed in 1839 by the establishment of the Education Department to replace the Committee. In 1861 the work of the Department was enlarged by the adoption of the "payment by results system." This involved not only inspection of schools but the examination of each pupil in the fundamental subjects. Although the provision of elementary schools was encouraged by this measure, the supply was inadequate.

After the extension of the suffrage to the working classes under certain conditions in 1867, it was realized, in the words of a political leader, that "We must now educate our masters." In 1870 the Education Act was passed for the election of school boards to provide elementary schools at public expense where their number was thought to be insufficient. Compulsory attendance was not enacted until 1876 but parents retained the right to choose the school to which to send their children—board school, voluntary (denominational or non-denominational) school, or private school, or even to educate their children at home.

#### Government Enters Field

Thus the government was drawn into the provision of education step by step rather

than by deliberate policy. Advances were made piecemeal. The Exhibition of 1851, which demonstrated certain deficiencies in British industry, as compared with other countries, led in 1852 to the establishment of the Department of Science and Art to encourage instruction in the two fields. The growing economic competition of other countries stimulated the progress of technical education under provisions of the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, which made counties and county boroughs responsible for its development through a special grant ("whiskey money").

Secondary education during the nineteenth century continued to be provided by private schools, most of which were endowed and many of which had been established as free grammar schools as far back as the fifteenth century. The government had no right of entry to these schools except to inquire into the administration of the endowments, as was done by commissions appointed in 1861 and 1864. The inquiries aroused suspicion lest the government might interfere not only with the administration but also with the curricula and standards of these schools. As a result the headmasters of the leading "public" and endowed schools organized the Headmasters' Conference in 1869. This was done to protect their independence from interference whether by legislation or by the conducting of examinations by a governmental agency.

The increasing demand by industry, business, and other occupations for more trained manpower directed attention to the country's need of different types of secondary schools available to other classes than those served by the endowed and "public" schools. This need was met tentatively by introducing secondary school subjects into some elementary schools. In 1899, however, a government auditor refused to sanction the expenditure by the London School Board on education other than elementary; this Cockerton Case was similar to the Kalamazoo Case of 1874 except that the decision was upheld.

In the meantime the Bryce Commission, appointed in 1894, made recommendations for the coordination of the various administrative bodies and the different types of schools into a national system under the general supervision of a Minister of Education.

The Minister, responsible to Parliament, would be advised by a representative Education Council, which was suggested to meet possible opposition to an executive department of government. The Independent Labor party of Bradford had adopted resolutions a year before the Bryce Commission was appointed in favor of free public education, a central coordinating body, and the provision of maintenance scholarships for poor but able pupils in order to prevent the waste of talent.

The first step toward a national system of education was the establishment of the Board of Education by Act of Parliament in 1899. The Board was charged "with the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales," and took over the duties of the Education Department, the Department of Science and Art, and later the Charity Commission which supervised educational endowments. The Act provided for the appointment of a Consultative Committee to advise the Board on "any matters referred to it by the Board," a measure intended to check any tendency on the part of the central agency to become bureaucratic. A more important check, however, has always been the responsibility of the Board to Parliament, to which its proposed regulations must be submitted and where any member may raise questions bearing on education in general and on the actions of the Board. A second check has been the practice of consultation by the Board with individuals or organizations before any serious measure was to be adopted and to consider proposals or grievances.

#### Control by Indirection

The general principle of administration was clearly enunciated in 1925 by Lord Eustace Percy, when he was President of the Board. In a statement to representatives of the Association of Education Authorities he said:

He had always felt that it was vain and futile for a gentleman sitting in a room in Whitehall to attempt to lay down the particular advances in education which should be carried out over a given period. That could only be judged by the local authorities, and he had asked them in that circular for an expression of their views, a lead from them as to the directions in which they

thought the extension of educational facilities or reorganization was primarily needed.

On matters that concern the subjects of the curriculum, courses of study, and methods of instruction the Board refrained from direct action but published instead *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers* in elementary schools, and reports on various subjects for information rather than as prescriptions. In 1927 when the Royal Society of St. George requested Lord Percy to make the teaching of patriotism in the schools compulsory, he replied:

When it came to the question of a mandate from the Board, it had always been one of the principles of educational administration in this country that as little as possible should be laid down by the Central Department; that the Department, in matters of teaching, curriculum, pedagogies, and so on, should act by advice—by instruction in the sense of suggestion—by the issue of teachers' handbooks rather than by direct regulation.

Similar ideas were expressed in 1934 by Mr. H. Ramsbotham (later Lord Soulbury), then Parliamentary Secretary to the Board:

It was because he attached so much importance to the individual that he was apprehensive of any extension of state control. There were people, particularly in other countries, who held that the individual existed, and should exist, for the sake of the State. He was not one of them, and he was thankful to say that neither the theory nor the practice of education in our country was founded on such a philosophy. Our whole plan of decentralization, the relation of partnership between the Board of Education and the local authorities, the weight that was given to the views of the latter, the encouragement that was offered to local sentiment, the policy of constant consultation, and the great reluctance of the Board to apply coercion were all part and parcel of a general desire to foster the spirit of individualism and experiment.

Shortly before the outbreak of World War II Mr. Chister Ede, then Parliamentary Secretary to the Board, in answer to a request to require teachers to give instruction on the virtues of freedom, replied that "It is essentially a teacher's problem and teachers can be in no doubt as to the importance which the Board attaches to it." And when the Board was requested to recommend a recent anthology on freedom for use in schools, Mr. Ede said that "It is not the practice of

the Board to recommend particular textbooks—that is part of the freedom that we are allowing local education authorities."

The same general principles animated the Board's inspectors. Their responsibilities were to consult, advise, and encourage the teachers and the local authorities and, as agents of cross-fertilization, to discover and disseminate ideas that might contribute to the progress and improvement of education. Since their experience was wider in range than that of the teachers, they gradually won their respect. At the same time they served as intelligence officers of the Board and their reports formed the basis of the suggestions, handbooks, and other information published by the Board.

By the Education Act, 1944, the Board of Education became the Ministry of Education under a Minister who is usually a member of the Cabinet. The Minister was charged with the duty "to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area." The Consultative Committee of the Board has been replaced by two Central Advisory Councils, one for England and the other for Wales and Monmouthshire.

There is little danger that the power to control and direct will be abused. The central authority was strengthened in order to emphasize the new national policy of making the full benefits of education equally available to all. Since the contribution of the central authority has increased from about 50 per cent to over 60 per cent of the total cost of education, there is a temptation to assume more powers. Nevertheless the principles of administration established under the Board of Education are still valid. In 1951 the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry, Sir John Maud, wrote:

We administrators have therefore good reason to remember that we serve the public that foots the bill and do our best to make sure that the public gets full value for its money. But if we are to serve the public as we should, our chief concern should be to serve the teachers and all who do the work of education—and in particu-

lar to remember for ourselves, and persuade our public masters to believe, that the more free educators are, and feel themselves to be, the better they will educate (and the better value the public will therefore get for its money).

The Ministry of Education does not maintain schools; their provision and maintenance (with support from the Ministry) is left to the local authorities. It does not train and certificate teachers; the task is left to public and private bodies, denominational and non-denominational, under the general supervision of area training organizations in association with the universities of their area; on the recommendation of each organization candidates after examination are recognized by the Ministry as "qualified teachers."

The examinations of secondary school pupils are not conducted by the Ministry, but by nine examining bodies associated with the universities and under the general supervision of the Secondary Schools Examination Council set up in 1917 as an advisory body. Teachers' salaries are not determined by the Ministry but by special committees, known as Burnham committees. The Ministry requires the local authorities to accept the decisions of the committees.

#### Ministry of Education's Powers

In so far as control and direction are desirable to implement national policy the Ministry of Education exercises its power through the grants to the local education authorities. The Ministry must ensure an adequate supply of schools and buildings, see that social and medical services are provided, regulate the length of school years and, where necessary, approve fees. These powers the Board had already exercised. Under the Education Act, 1944, private schools must be inspected and registered if found satisfactory. But a school, if denied registration, may appeal to an Independent Schools Tribunal, and, if necessary, to the High Court under the Tribunals and Inquiries Act, 1958. The right to control and direct is employed to ensure that the best conditions are available for the actual conduct of the educative process. Beyond that local authorities and schools are free to determine curricula and methods, but, in the words of the Board's *Suggestions for the Consideration of Teach-*

ers, "freedom implies responsibility in its use."

Direct responsibility for reorganizing the educational system along the lines laid down in the Education Act, 1944, is vested in the local education authorities, consisting of the elected county and county borough councils and acting through Education Committees. In order to facilitate the exercise of the larger powers and duties the pre-war number of 318 authorities was reduced to 146, in the expectation that the larger administrative areas would be better able to carry out the new policies. The reorganized system involved the abolition of the traditional dual organization—elementary education for the masses and secondary for the few—and its replacement by an organization of schools in three stages—primary, secondary, and further (part-time or full-time but not university). Each authority, after making a survey of the local facilities and after consultation with all persons and parties concerned, was required to draft a development plan. The plan was to be submitted to the Minister of Education for approval; in case of disagreement the matter could be brought to the attention of Parliament.

A significant feature of the system is that it is made up of a great variety of schools—publicly maintained schools; denominational schools partly or wholly supported from local funds under certain conditions; private proprietary schools; preparatory schools leading to "public schools"; direct grant secondary schools receiving grants from the State on condition that at least 25 per cent of the pupils are admitted from public primary schools without tuition charges; and finally "public schools" which are private and normally boarding schools charging high fees. Only those schools whose headmasters belong to the Headmasters' Conference are entitled to the name "public schools." Member schools must have their own board of governors, must be independent of external control, and must send a number of their graduates to Oxford and Cambridge. Many private schools, including "public schools", invited inspection by the Board of Education and could be listed as "efficient but not grant-earning." Under the Education Act, 1944, all private schools must be inspected and registered.

With a few exceptions the schools are not coeducational nor are they large; size in fact has been one of the chief objections to the adoption of comprehensive secondary schools. Secondary education was one of the most important problems after World War II. The issue revolved about whether to adopt one school for all or to follow the recommendations of a pre-war Consultative Committee in the Spens Report (1937), incorporated in the Act, to provide three types of schools—grammer or academic, modern or general, and technical. A few authorities, particularly London and Coventry, were permitted to adopt comprehensive secondary schools. Equally serious was the problem of allocating pupils to one of the three types of schools at the age of 11 plus. The objections to allocation at this age are gradually disappearing as the modern secondary schools are winning favorable support and retaining pupils beyond the age of 15.

More important than the reorganization of the school system is the purpose that it is intended to serve. In 1943 the Board of Education issued a White Paper on *Educational Reconstruction* to prepare the public for the coming legislation. The White Paper was introduced by a citation from Disraeli: "Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends." The essence of the proposed reconstruction was presented in the first paragraph:

The Government's purpose in putting forward the reforms described in this paper is to provide for children a happier childhood and a better start in life, to ensure a fuller measure of education and opportunity for young people and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so enriching the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are. The new educational opportunities must not therefore be of a single pattern. It is just as important to achieve diversity as it is to ensure equality of educational opportunity. . . . In the youth of the nation we have our greatest national asset. Even on a basis of mere expediency, we cannot afford not to develop this asset to the greatest advantage. It is the object of the present proposals to strengthen and inspire the younger generation. For it is as true to-day as when it was first said, that "the bulwarks of a city are its men."

The success of a movement which began

in World War I to provide secondary education for all can be gauged by the increased enrollments and the increase in the numbers that continue in school beyond the compulsory age of 15. The situation is so promising that in a report *15 to 18*, by the Central Advisory Council under Sir Geoffrey Crowther as chairman, the recommendation was made that by 1970 full-time education should be made compulsory to 16 and part-time to 18.

Even more spectacular has been the increase in enrollments in the universities, which are about two and a half times the pre-war number. The increase cannot as yet be attributed to the population bulge, but rather to the growing recognition of the nation's need of trained manpower. Access to the universities has been facilitated for able students by the increase in the number of scholarships provided by the state and local authorities as well as by schools, colleges, and universities. The number of awards made by public bodies to students entering universities rose from 15,907 in 1955-1956 to 19,748 in 1959; nearly 70 per cent of all students enrolled are in receipt of some grant, the amount depending on a means test. Since the existing institutions are already overcrowded, more are contemplated and plans for at least two (in Brighton and York) have already been made.

The Ministry of Education does not exercise any control over the universities, except for teacher training and the award of state scholarships. In 1919 when the universities were in serious financial difficulties the University Grants Committee was created to administer grants allotted to it by the Treasury and to consider policy. Despite certain fears, when it was established, that the Committee might become bureaucratic, there has been no interference with the academic freedom of the universities, although the Committee provides about 70 per cent of the cost of higher education.

#### Government and School Partnership

The old distrust of government intervention in education has disappeared and it is doubtful whether anybody would be disposed today to question the right of the State to be a partner in a national enterprise which is clearly of benefit to the nation as a whole as well as to individual welfare. Slowly and

stage by stage the construction of a national system has progressed and overcome any distrust that may be latent; even private institutions, which cherish their independence, welcome the designation of "efficient" as well as registration after inspection, provided that there is no interference in their internal affairs. The policy underlying the development of a national system is animated largely by a policy of equalizing educational opportunities for all. It has taken nearly a century to elaborate the principle of control and aid to education in England and Wales. The poor but able student may now look forward to an education that extends from nursery school to the end of his academic career.

The stage has been reached in the United States when education must be viewed as a national rather than a state or local concern. The movement for federal aid has been going on for nearly 50 years. More and more evidence has been accumulated to prove that despite the traditional American faith in education and in equality of opportunity, their distribution has been uneven and the standards attained inadequate. The problem is inherently one of financial support. There is nothing in the English principle that runs counter to American political and educational theory, for its essence is one of partnership, of consultation and cooperation in order to ensure equality of opportunity and to pool financial resources and experience. Every bill for federal aid to education in the United States has contained a clause to prohibit interference by any federal body in the conduct of the educative process. The early history of the Federal Board for Vocational Education shows that the public has adequate means at its disposal to protest against direct control and dictation in such matters as time-schedules, curricula, and methods of instruction.

There is, of course, one important difference between the English and the American situation because of the existence of states between the federal government and local authorities. There is, however, no reason to think that with proper safeguards the principle of partnership cannot be applied to American education to improve and strengthen the facilities and quality of education and to promote ability and talent wherever found.

Describing the "centralization of educational control," this historian points out that ". . . the centralized character of Mexican education has not prevented considerable experimentation and the uniformity sought is not excessively rigid. . . ."

# Mexico: Government Control of Education

BY STANLEY R. ROSS

*Professor of History, University of Nebraska*

DESPITE the fact that public education has had an impressively long history in Mexico, the education of the Mexican people remains today one of the most basic national problems. Even before the Europeans arrived, both the Mayas and the Aztecs maintained educational programs to orient the young in the existing socio-cultural pattern as well as to provide specialized military, religious and manual arts training. The first half century after the arrival of the Spaniards witnessed an impressive educational development, including the following New World firsts: establishment of an elementary school (1523) at Texcoco by Fray Pedro de Gante, installation of a printing press (1535) and publication of the first book the following year, and issuance of the decree (1551) creating the Royal and Pontifical University some 85 years before the founding of Harvard.

While the colonial educational structure provided by Spain probably was the equivalent of that provided in other colonial areas, systematic education was limited to the few and was a virtual monopoly of the Church. With the coming of independence, new educational currents entered Mexico including prominently the ideas of French liberalism and the techniques of Lancastrianism. The education system inherited from colonial times was regarded as inadequate in organization, curriculum and orientation. Efforts were made to centralize the organization, to modernize the curriculum and to eliminate the Church from the educational field.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, education suffered in the atmosphere of internal disorders, lack of resources and recurring State-Church conflict. Under Benito Juárez and the liberal Reform Laws of the middle of the past century the direction of modern Mexican education was foreshadowed, but could hardly be said to have been effectively implemented. Elementary education was to be obligatory, free and secular. The educational system was to be national. The Indian was to be redeemed and the national unity fostered through education. However, only nominal progress was achieved. Provincialism and ecclesiastical influences persisted, and most educational efforts were limited, localized and largely privately inspired.

The prolonged dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911), an uninterrupted three decades of peace and economic advance, provided conditions propitious for edu-

Stanley R. Ross is a member of the General Committee of the Conference on Latin American History and a contributing editor (nineteenth and twentieth century Mexico) for the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*. In addition, Mr. Ross is a member of the Board of Editors of *The Hispanic American Historical Review* and advisory editor of *The Americas*. His books include *Francisco I. Madero, Apostle of Mexican Democracy*, and *Fuentes para la historia contemporánea de México: periodismo* (in press).

tional progress. Despite some steps in this direction and the presence of educational leadership in the person of Justo Sierra, the educational opportunity was not exploited. Justo Sierra was responsible for the enactment of a law for free, compulsory education, the establishment of a Federal Department of Elementary Education and the re-establishment of the National University. He sought to inject a modicum of idealism in the prevailing utilitarian and materialist philosophy of Mexican positivism. Díaz even could boast of a modest increase in the number of schools and a doubling of the enrollment in public and private institutions. However, these increases barely kept pace with population growth. Advances were largely confined to the Federal District, while rural education was virtually ignored. The Indian mass was disdained and regarded as uneducable. Education remained a luxury for the privileged few. Consequently, it is shocking but not surprising that by the end of the Díaz regime and on the eve of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the illiteracy rate exceeded seventy per cent.

The momentous upheaval known as the Mexican Revolution sought, in the words of the renowned anthropologist Manuel Gamio to forge a nation and a nationality out of the multiplicity that was Mexico and the Mexicans. The vital role that education had to play in the process was early recognized, but the turmoil of the initial revolutionary decade, stringent financial conditions, and the assignment of educational responsibility to local administrations by the Constitution of 1917 limited the accomplishments of early revolutionary governments. However, the fundamental charter contained sweeping declarations about the educational rights of the people.

As in so many other instances, the constitutional provisions represented goals to be achieved and the legal framework within which they might be accomplished. It was not until the 1920's that the Revolution entered its constructive phase and the elemental cry of the Mexican people for land and schools began to be met. Then it was that the objectives and directions of modern Mexican education were defined and that original solutions to educational problems were devised.

## II

Under José Vasconcelos and a group of energetic educational pioneers including Rafael Ramírez, Moisés Sáenz and Manuel Gamio, Mexico's educational effort began to take form. During the Obregón administration (1920-1924) the Constitution was amended to provide for federal responsibility in education and Vasconcelos was designated as the first head of the new Federal Department of Education. His task was to eliminate chaos and to formulate a national program of education which would be the principal means of national improvement. Education was broadly conceived and included art, music, museums, libraries and literature, campaigns to eliminate illiteracy and to uplift the Indian masses and strenuous efforts to bring the benefits of education to rural Mexico. It was in the field of rural education that the most strikingly original techniques were developed.

The pressing need was for rural schools and for rural teachers. Urban programs were not applicable to rural community needs and urban trained personnel lacked the experience and desire to bridge the immense gap that existed between the modern, cosmopolitan world and backward, isolated rural Mexico. Vasconcelos launched a program of "ambulatory missionaries" chosen more for their enthusiasm and idealism than for their training, whose task was to orient themselves to local conditions and needs and to stimulate an interest in and assist in the organization of schools. The school was to be the result of community effort and was to use local resources and contribute to local needs. It was to be a "house of the people," a community project for adults as well as for the children.

The experience of the missionaries provided difficult, but invaluable lessons. From original emphasis on the instruction and improvement of the poor, backward and isolated emerged the concentration on the community. The rural school had to be adapted to the particular community, it had to use local resources, and the training offered had to be immediately useful. It was the task of the missionary to bring the accoutrements of modern living to a community that had none of them.

By the end of the Obregón administration, community-constructed schools numbered more than 1,000 and were serving in excess of 65,000 pupils. During the Cárdenas administration (1934-1940) considerable stimulus was given to rural education, the number of such schools doubling in number. Today rural elementary schools constitute about 80 per cent of Mexico's primary institutions and serve almost half of the nation's grade school enrollment.

It was soon apparent that the undertaking was too great for individual missionaries. In addition, some method had to be found for the improvement of teachers until a permanent system of rural normal schools could be created. The answer, suggested by the experience of the missionaries, was the traveling cultural mission. Groups of six or eight specialists would travel through rural regions offering institutes for teachers in specified centers. The goal was to improve rural teachers in such a way as to further economic and social as well as cultural improvement of the community and to advance its integration as part of the nation. In 1926 a Department of Cultural Missions had been established in the Ministry of Public Education. From then until 1938 the cultural missions multiplied and served as traveling normal schools. During the 1930's the cultural missions were criticized for political activity. It also was argued that because of the limited time the cultural missions spent in any one locality their effectiveness was limited. After being discontinued from 1938 to 1942, the cultural missions were reorganized with major emphasis on adult education and community improvement and secondary attention to teacher training.

Cultural missions continue to make their contribution to Mexican development. They operate for several years in a selected centrally located community in the more remote, isolated and retarded regions of the country serving that community and nearby villages. The mission is composed of personnel with a variety of skills, including specialists in education, social work, nursing, agriculture, industrial and mechanical arts and recreation. The mission's objectives include: improvement of economic conditions, skills and practices; encouragement of advances in health, sanitation, diet and housing; develop-

ment of recreational activities; and the raising of the level of rural schools particularly through in-service training of rural teachers.<sup>1</sup>

The problem of training new teachers for the multiplying rural schools and especially for the education of Indian groups had to be resolved by the development of permanent teacher training institutions. The first post-revolutionary rural normal school was established in 1922, and by 1926 the curriculum for the program had been worked out. The lessons of the missionaries and the cultural missions had been well learned. The best rural teachers were those with rural experience and trained in a rural environment. They had to be capable of improving the traditional way of life. Once again the emphasis was on skills which would serve for social, economic and cultural improvement of the community.

Agricultural education has been closely identified with both rural schools and rural normal institutions. Agricultural training is obligatory in rural elementary schools. President Calles (1924-1928) attempted to set up a system of advanced agricultural education modeled on American agricultural schools, but the program was too ambitious, expensive and sophisticated. The schools were reorganized as regional normal schools providing training both in agriculture and teaching. Today there are available on a regional basis rural normal schools, intermediate agricultural schools and special institutions associated with the training of Indian groups.

The Mexican Revolution focused attention on the Indian as an object of special attention. The Indian was to be brought within the pale and made an integral part of Mexican society. Among the most salutary byproducts of the revolutionary process were the new appreciation and esteem of the Indian cultural heritage. A School for the Indigenous Student, established in 1925, demonstrated to the most skeptical that the Indian could be educated. By 1932 the school's budget was being employed to support ten centers for indigenous education. Improvement missions were sent out to help the Indian population groups through the

<sup>1</sup> N. L. Whetten, *Rural Mexico* (Chicago, 1948), p. 434.

improvement of agricultural methods and living conditions.

During the administration of Cárdenas the Indian renaissance reached a climax. A Department of Indigenous Affairs was established. The techniques and attitudes of cultural anthropology led to emphasis on acculturation rather than assimilation. Under President Alemán (1946-1952) the Department was abolished and the major portion of its responsibilities was assigned to the Ministry of Public Education.

The existence of substantial numbers of linguistically complex and culturally diversified Indian groups, the predominant and scattered nature of the rural population and the lack of school facilities and teachers presented formidable obstacles to the achievement of the goal of a literate population. José Vasconcelos instituted a program which was the forerunner of the famous "each one teach one" campaign. Obregón's Minister of Education enrolled "honorary primary teachers." All the volunteer needed was to have completed three primary grades and to be ready and willing to teach his fellows to read and write. The Ministry recommended that the volunteers take advantage of the teaching relationship to insinuate advice leading to a better way of life. The Cárdenas administration made a major effort to reduce illiteracy and prepared the way for a National Campaign Against Illiteracy provided by a law enacted on August 21, 1944.

On that date President Avila Camacho and Education Minister Jaime Torres Bodet began a crusade to abolish illiteracy. Every literate Mexican from 18 to 60 was obligated as a patriotic duty to teach an illiterate fellow countryman to read and write or to pay for such training. Regional and local centers were established, millions of readers were printed and distributed and some half a million were taught to read and write the first year. Most of the instruction was provided by teachers in their spare time, but laymen participated too in this impressive effort. The Ministry of National Defense has made a substantial contribution by tackling the illiteracy problem among recruits and draftees. Progress has been encouraging and the program has continued. However, in recent years the task has been largely confined to formal centers which have declined in

number and reached fewer people while increasing in cost of operation. The "each one teach one" method was a dramatic and original approach to the problem of reducing illiteracy in an existing adult population. The answer for the future lies in providing an elementary education for each and every Mexican child.

The Mexican rural education effort has been recognized as unique. At Lake Pátzcuaro the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Mexican Government jointly sponsor a Regional Fundamental Education Center. The unit serves as a training demonstration program in elementary education and community improvements for Fellows from other Latin American countries. The program aims at improving the economic, health and cultural level of the agricultural and fishing communities while serving as a laboratory for the trainees who spend 18 months in the area. The Mexican effort in rural education and literacy programs, marked by vitality and originality, has potential applicability in other areas of the world with isolated and culturally backward rural populations and handicapped by limitations of money and trained personnel.

### III

An authority on Mexican educational development has warned against the evaluation of the Mexican educational system by the values current in the United States.<sup>2</sup> The Mexican pattern is characterized by a far greater degree of centralization and federal control than is associated with education in this country. Spanish tradition and French influence contributed to this tendency, but even more important have been the conscious effort of the Mexican Revolution to strengthen the State, the running conflict between State and Church and the inability of provincial and local governments to meet the educational needs of the nation.

Constitutional provisions regarding education as contained principally in Article 3 of the Constitution of 1917 (successively amended in 1921, 1934, and 1945 and implemented by the New Organic Law of Public Education in 1942) are very comprehen-

<sup>2</sup> G. I. Sánchez, *The Development of Higher Education in Mexico* (New York, 1944), pp. 1-2.

hensive. Since 1921 federal authority in education has been established, and it is the responsibility of the National Congress to distribute the functions of education between the Federation on the one hand and the States and Municipalities on the other. The most recent version of Article 3 provides that primary education shall be obligatory for all children from 6 through 14 years of age and that education imparted by the State shall be free. It also is provided that Mexican education will be free of religious doctrine. It will combat ignorance, oppression, fanaticism and prejudice and seek to contribute to the improvement of human relations and to instill love of country and consciousness of international solidarity. Private institutions may impart education at all levels and of all types, but they must receive prior governmental authorization and must comply with official plans, programs and objectives. Religious organizations are prohibited from having any connection with primary, secondary or normal education.

Educational institutions in Mexico are of five types according to sponsorship: federal, federalized (jointly supported by state and federal governments), state, local and private. The Mexican educational structure consists of kindergarten and elementary schools on the lowest level. Technical, secondary, normal and preparatory schools operate on the intermediate level, while the various universities and colleges, National Polytechnic Institute and Higher Normal School offer opportunities for advanced education. With the exception of the universities and special professional schools (for example, the National Agricultural School is under the Ministry of Agriculture), all types and levels of educational institutions are under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Public Education.

The Minister of Public Education occupies a cabinet post. This has meant that educational policy may be integrated with other aspects of national progress and that the person responsible for the field of education is able to influence all phases of national policy. However, an official in such a situation also is a politician. Further, changes in the administration and frequent shifts of ministers can adversely affect the continuity of effort and consistency of policies.

Despite these difficulties the post has been made illustrious by the many distinguished, talented and constructive men who have occupied it. During the 1920's José Vasconcelos and Moisés Sáenz were outstanding, defining the objectives and initiating many of the programs of modern Mexican education. However, education was one of the foci of the Church-State conflict during the Calles administration. The struggle was renewed in the 1930's when Article 3 was amended to provide that education was to be "socialistic" and to combat religion. Narciso Bassols pointed the way to an educational policy which was more social-minded, materialistic and class conscious. Under President Cárdenas central authority and governmental paternalism increased in an augmented educational effort. The educational program contained in the Six Year Plan provided national goals and continuity. However, the orientation of the program as well as the propagandistic activities of teachers, some of whom gave priority to Marxism over Mexicanism, aroused bitter opposition.

The election of Avila Camacho brought a return to moderation in education as in other aspects of Mexican life. A new general law of public education was enacted, and Article 3 was modified in a manner which quieted the complaints of conservatives and Catholics. However, the new administration did not yield any of the federal government's authority over education. Jaime Torres Bodet, later Director General of UNESCO and subsequently Secretary of Foreign Relations, as Minister of Public Education emphasized democracy, nationalism, hemispheric solidarity and humanism. He focused attention on the individual and the region and sought to incorporate both into the national education system. Manuel Gual Vidal, Alemán's Minister of Education, emphasized closer integration of education with the drive for national economic development.

It was during this administration that the first two regional river valley development programs were initiated which involved improving the selected area in all senses, including educationally, and integrating it with the nation. In addition, University City, an educational complex combining modern buildings with Indian artistic motifs, was

created to house the National Autonomous University.

President Adolfo López Mateos, inaugurated in 1958, placed the Ministry of Education once again in the capable hands of Jaime Torres Bodet. He has initiated a ten year program emphasizing school construction and the training of new teachers with the goal of making the educational promises of the Mexican Constitution a reality.

The Ministry of Public Education operates through about a score of bureaus and departments directing and supervising education throughout the country. Sections of the Ministry prescribe administrative procedures, construct curricula, and regulate requirements for admission, promotion and graduation. Teachers in federal schools are government employees, and the Ministry determines teacher qualifications and promotion eligibility.

Obviously these comprehensive functions represent a noteworthy degree of centralization of educational control. Critics tend to object not to the centralization, but rather to the injection of partisan and ideological politics. The system is justified as being more effective and as contributing to greater uniformity of educational standards. Obviously the centralized character of Mexican education has not prevented considerable experimentation and the uniformity sought is not excessively rigid. For example, there is considerable latitude permitted in the effort to adapt special schools to local conditions. Rural schools offer the same basic subjects as urban institutions, but they are oriented to an agricultural environment.

There is also a very extensive development of private schools. First, there are the so-called Article 123 schools. These are institutions which employers are required to maintain for the children of their employees when their establishment is located more than three kilometers from the nearest town. In urban centers there are schools which are the result solely of private initiative. These include schools sponsored by foreign nationality groups as well as those which, despite legal prohibitions, are sponsored by religious elements. In addition to regular elementary and secondary schools foreign sponsorship sustains bi-national cultural centers, including the Mexican-North American

Cultural Institute, which provide foreign language instruction and cultural activities for thousands of Mexicans.

Theoretically and legally, private institutions are under the supervision of the Ministry. Private schools require governmental authorization to operate, and cannot appeal if such authorization is denied or revoked. The course of study must conform to legal prescriptions, and teachers must meet standards of preparation. The government is authorized to inspect the facilities for adequacy from both a hygienic and educational point of view. However, the control is not rigidly exercised. Catholic institutions have multiplied despite legal restrictions. Such institutions observe the formalities of the law, relegating religious instruction to non-school hours.

In higher education the National University, with a student body exceeding forty thousand, enjoys considerable autonomy, controlling its own internal affairs, but dependent on governmental appropriations for a large part of its operating funds. Similarly, the National Polytechnic Institute and the National School of Health and Hygiene enjoy relative autonomy under their respective directors. The Technological Institute of Monterrey, modeled after the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and supported by the business community of the northern metropolis, is an outstanding example of non-governmental higher education. Lastly, there exists a fair amount of local autonomy maintained by the states and municipalities within the broad outline determined by the Ministry.

One of the principal justifications for centralized control and sponsorship of education has been the inability of state and local governments to meet the need. State sponsorship proved deficient and unreliable because the provincial units were inadequately prepared administratively and financially for the task. The predominantly rural states, where educational needs are greatest, have the most limited resources. The federal government, which controls the major share of the sources of revenue, had to assume principal responsibility. In 1956 almost 80 per cent of governmental revenues went to the central government, with an additional 6 per cent going to the Federal District which

includes Mexico City. Only 11 per cent was available to the states and 3 per cent to cities other than the capital. However, during the past decade state expenditures have been increasing at a more rapid rate than federal expenditures, and efforts are being made to increase local government revenues.

Nevertheless, the central government still spends approximately 70 per cent of the pesos allocated for educational purposes. Since 1923, when Vasconcelos raised the 1 per cent of the national budget expended for education under Carranza to 15 per cent, education has been a major item in the national budget. In addition to funds assigned to the Ministry of Education and to the autonomous institutions, it must be remembered that considerable educational work is undertaken by the Ministries of Agriculture, Public Health and Welfare and National Defense. In 1960 and again this year the allocations for the Ministry of Education represented the largest single item in the government's budget. Last year over \$150 million (18.3 per cent of the total budget) was assigned to this department, while in 1961 the allocation was increased to \$169 million representing 20 per cent of the total budget.<sup>3</sup>

#### IV

Preoccupation with education is apparent from the Mexican Constitution, laws and budgets. The educational program has been considered one of the Revolution's most generous and successful aspects. There can be no doubt that the effort has been heroic in the light of the dimensions and complexity of the problem and in view of limited resources. Progress has been considerable and healthy. School facilities have multiplied and the number of children attending school has increased steadily. Illiteracy, reduced to 50 per cent by 1940, decreased to an estimated 34 per cent in 1958.

However, the educational effort has suffered from a number of serious handicaps and shortcomings. Population growth combined with rising costs has minimized the impact of increased expenditures for educational purposes. The tendency to concentrate educational facilities, particularly for intermediate and higher education, in the capital and other urban centers is marked,

and the urban advantage is constantly increasing. Lethargy still persists in rural Mexico as does cultural complexity. Three-quarters of a million persons speak only Indian languages of which there are still more than two score extant. An additional 1.5 million persons speak an Indian language and have some, often limited, knowledge of Spanish. Much remains to be done if the myriad of small communities are not only to be upgraded to a better life, but also integrated into the nation. Unfortunately, a recent observer has noted greater emphasis on educational fundamentals than on orienting education to local needs and preoccupation of educators with professional considerations rather than with missionary-type idealism.<sup>4</sup>

While the illiteracy rate has declined, more than 10 million Mexicans remain without the most rudimentary educational techniques. Despite expanded facilities and because of explosive population growth, millions between the ages of 6 and 14 have not attended school. In 1958, for example, 3.3 millions (45 per cent) in this age category were not receiving instruction. The proportion of those at other educational levels receiving training were as follows: kindergarten 8 per cent; intermediate (secondary, prevocational, vocational, preparatory, commercial and special schools) 4.1 per cent; and higher education 4.1 per cent. It is obvious that much remains to be done before educational opportunity is provided for all.

Mexico needs not only more extensive educational facilities at the elementary level, but also secondary and higher educational facilities adequate to provide the pool of technically trained manpower and the qualified leaders so vital to a modern society. Reassuring is the fact that "the education of the Mexicans is a matter of sincere and sacred concern to Mexico's national leaders." The effectiveness of their effort will have an impact not only on Mexico, but beyond her borders as well. "Mexican educational success or failure will bring educational hope or despair to all the Americas."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Hispanic American Report*, XII, No. 12 (Feb., 1960), p. 651 and XIII, No. 12 (Feb., 1961), p. 863.

<sup>4</sup> O. Lewis, "Mexico Since Cárdenas," in Richard N. Adams, et. al., *Social Change in Latin America Today* (New York, 1960), p. 332.

<sup>5</sup> G. F. Kneller, *The Education of the Mexican Nation* (New York, 1950), pp. 225 and 228.

*In this discussion of the Canadian educational system, this writer points out that "Canada shares only with Switzerland and the Federal Republic of West Germany the distinction of having no federally supported central education agency. In consequence federal involvement in education, which appears to be increasingly inevitable, tends to be based on temporary specific needs rather than on long term considerations."*

# Government Aid and Control of Education in Canada

By F. K. STEWART

*Executive Secretary, Canadian Education Association*

A DESCRIPTION of the role of government in Canadian education is complicated, as it is in any federal state, by the number and variety of the governments involved. While several levels of government (federal, provincial, municipal) are concerned to a greater or lesser extent with edu-

cation, it is essential to an understanding of the Canadian situation to appreciate that education is a provincial responsibility.

In the Canadian Constitution<sup>1</sup> Section 91 lists the powers of the Federal Parliament, and Section 92 lists the powers of provincial legislatures; a special Section (93) is concerned solely with education and states "In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education." This clause is followed by a qualification that "nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any right or Privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of Persons have by law in the Province at the Union." Should a provincial legislature subsequently attempt to restrict rights enjoyed by any religious denomination for its schools at the time of its union with Canada, and an appeal be made, "then and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws. . . ."

Canada, by the act of Confederation (1867), was made up of four provinces—two with existing provisions for what were called separate, denominational, or parochial schools (Ontario and Quebec) and two without such provision (Nova Scotia and New Brunswick). Since then six other provinces have become part of the federation, some having only one school system such as

A graduate of Dalhousie and Oxford Universities and the University of Toronto, F. K. Stewart has been the Executive Secretary of the Canadian Education Association for the past fourteen years. He has represented Canada at the annual Conference of the International Bureau of Education and served on Canadian government delegations to the UNESCO Biennial Conferences in Montevideo and New Delhi. In addition to his work with the Canadian Education Association he has been a local school board member and sessional lecturer in "Comparative Education" and the "History of Canadian Education" for graduate students at the College of Education of the University of Toronto. Co-editor of *Leadership in Action: the Superintendent of Schools in Canada*, he has written a book entitled *Interprovincial Co-operation in Education* and numerous magazine articles on Canadian education.

<sup>1</sup> The British North America Act (1867).

British Columbia and others with provision for schools on a denominational basis (usually Protestant and Roman Catholic). Newfoundland, which became part of Canada in 1949, had at that time an educational system in which four religious denominations maintained schools with government support; a fifth denomination has since been added.

This emphasis on provincial autonomy in education was necessary in order to achieve Confederation in 1867,<sup>2</sup> for the political union brought together the French-speaking Roman Catholic people of Quebec and the English-speaking (largely Protestant) people in the other provinces. While the French-speaking Canadian population has increased greatly in numbers and extended beyond the borders of Quebec, its language and culture are under inevitable pressure from the English-speaking majority, not only directly in this country but also indirectly from the heavily populated United States. Hence Quebec is especially attached to the control of its education system and it is particularly resistant to federal activities, which might be dominated by the English-speaking majority, in the field of education. The division of powers at the time of Confederation accounts in large part for the fact that the national government is probably less directly involved in education than the national government in any other country. It also accounts for the fact that Canada has really ten systems of education, or, counting the dual system in Quebec, eleven systems.

A further factor contributing to variety in Canadian education is the sheer size of the country. Comprising 3,800,000 square miles, it is eight per cent greater in area than continental United States including Alaska.<sup>3</sup> Most of its population of 18 million people live within 200 miles of the United States border, but they are spread along a distance of 4,000 miles from St. John's in Newfoundland to Victoria in British Columbia. In addition to provincial differences, there are inevitably regional differences, with the greatest variation from the rest of Canada occurring in the Province of Quebec. With a population of over 5 million, about 85 per cent of which is French-speaking, Quebec originally drew the inspiration for its education system from France, in contrast with the

other provinces which, with the English speaking minority in Quebec, were influenced in varying degrees by practices in England, Scotland, and the United States.

These last influences were particularly strong in the older provinces, that is, in Ontario and the provinces east of it, omitting Quebec. In these provinces under British rule early schools, such as they were, were modelled on those in the old country with which the colonists were familiar—apprenticeship, parish schools, charity schools, dame schools, common day schools and Sunday schools:

As in the United States, elementary and secondary education were not sequential, the former being designed to teach the rudiments of reading, writing and calculating to the common people. Secondary education was for the well-to-do and privileged classes, and was designed to provide training leading to the professions or an education for leadership. Conditions in British North America in the last quarter of the eighteenth century were not conducive to any widespread interest in education, although commercial enterprises were on the increase and were bound to have their due effect.

#### The Development of Public Education

The first half of the nineteenth century saw the gradual development of government support for the public elementary school system, while the second half saw it become free, compulsory and integrated with secondary education. In early developments the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists, following the American Revolution, played a role of some significance, for the Loyalists brought with them an interest in education, an acquaintance with forms of schooling that had progressed further than in Canada, and a desire to manage their own affairs.<sup>4</sup>

In the period 1816 to 1830 the governments of the colonies began generally to give some small financial assistance to encourage local initiative in the support of schools. While in what is now Ontario secondary education had earlier received grants of land, and in 1807 grants of money, the Common

<sup>2</sup> C. E. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada* (Toronto, Gage, 1957), p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1959 Edition).

<sup>4</sup> Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

School Act of 1816 established a landmark in that it provided funds to aid communities in building elementary schools and in paying salaries of teachers. The act also provided for the local election of school trustees who would be responsible for running the school and appointing a teacher. The purpose of these early steps, taken reluctantly and unevenly by the different colonial governments of British North America, was not to establish schools and enforce standards, as happened later in Australia, but to lend encouragement and direction to local efforts. Shortly after central authorities in the field of education were appointed so that, by 1852, Upper and Lower Canada (later Ontario and Quebec), New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island had established provincial boards of education and appointed provincial superintendents.<sup>5</sup>

It was at this stage in Canadian educational development, that Egerton Ryerson became Superintendent of Schools in Upper Canada (1844); his leadership set a pattern that was imitated, or at least largely duplicated, in other parts of Canada during the rest of the century. In 1845 he made an extensive educational tour during which he saw in Prussia a centrally controlled system of teacher training, in Ireland text books prescribed by a central authority, and in Massachusetts the effectiveness of a school system encouraged by central grants and operated by locally elected trustees. He concluded that the central (provincial) authority should make financial grants to local authorities and ensure that they were properly spent through regulations; it should also set qualifications for teachers and ensure minimum standards through a provincial inspectorial system. Ryerson remained in office for 32 years (until 1876) and he was able, though not without great effort and occasional disappointment, to bring these and related proposals into effect.

The system established in Ontario by Ryerson strongly influenced the developing prairie provinces, though there, since provincial government departments preceded the growth of local school government<sup>6</sup> and linguistic complications arose from immigration,<sup>7</sup> the central administration was more paternalistic than in eastern Canada.

The pattern of Canadian education, which had started to take shape in the early nineteenth century, was systematized by Ryerson; extending westward throughout Canada as settlement progressed, it was designed to achieve a balance between local control and provincial direction. It was based on the belief that "the machinery of education should be in the hands of the people themselves managed through their own agency" (Ryerson), but that aid should be given by the provincial government when and where it could stimulate local effort. Consistent with this philosophy was a belief in the need for inspection of schools by officials of the provincial department of education,<sup>8</sup> the provision and control of facilities for teacher education, and a provincially controlled curriculum.

Education throughout Canada is now publicly supported and publicly controlled, with about two to four per cent attending private schools outside Quebec and some eight per cent attending such schools in that province. Attendance is compulsory from ages six or seven to the age of 15 or 16 in urban areas, although many students remain beyond that age. The grade system is followed, extending to 12 in most provinces and to 13 in Ontario and British Columbia, being variously divided into the 8-4, 8-5, or 6-3-3 or 6-3-4 plan. According to the most recent reports (1959) there are 3,600,000 pupils in publicly supported schools and 140,000 in private ones. Enrollment in the 40 recognized universities and in various affiliated colleges and other institutions of higher education totalled 102,000.<sup>9</sup>

From its small beginnings, education in Canada as in other countries, has become a big business. Reference was made above to the Common School Act of 1816 in Ontario; this made available to local trustees from central funds an amount of £6,000. Grants from the Ontario government to local school authorities for 1961-1962 will be in the amount of \$191 million, and a somewhat

<sup>5</sup> Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

<sup>6</sup> T. C. Byrne, Canadian Education Association, *Canadian Education*, Sept. 1958, p. 54.

<sup>7</sup> Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-232.

<sup>8</sup> Byrne, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> *Reference Paper No. 45*, Education Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics (Revised May, 1960).

## TABLE OF GOVERNMENT SPENDING FOR EDUCATION

Contributions	1959 ('000)	1959	1956
Local	\$548,507	44%	49%
Provincial	580,002	47%	44%
Federal	109,893	9%	7%
	1,238,402		
Non-Gov't.	180,942		
Total	\$1,419,344	100%	100%

larger amount will be raised through property taxes by local school authorities. Education has now become, in fact, the second largest venture of all provincial governments with the exception of Quebec and Newfoundland, where it is the largest.

Formal education in the year 1959 utilized 3.8 per cent of the total national income compared with four per cent in the mid-1930's and less than two per cent during the war years. Of the total revenue of all governments, municipal, provincial and federal, just under 14 per cent was spent on formal education with the municipalities providing less than 45 per cent of the total public contributions and the provincial governments around 47 per cent.<sup>10</sup> See table above.

These figures reveal that education is substantially an activity of provincial and municipal authorities, but that the Federal Government is involved to some extent in education. Reference will be made later to its role.

Each of the ten Canadian provinces has the authority and responsibility for organizing its educational system as it sees fit and, with minor exceptions, the administrative pattern of the government department concerned is similar in all the provinces. This follows the British parliamentary system of responsibility to the people through an elected legislature.

With the exception of Quebec, each province has a minister of education appointed by the Premier from among the elected members of the provincial legislature. As a cabinet minister, he is responsible to the legislature and hence to the people for the satisfactory operation of the educational system. His position may be changed at the pleasure of the Premier or if the government

in power is defeated in an election and a new government takes office. The province of Quebec has not had a minister of education since 1875, but its department of education now comes under the Minister of Youth who is responsible for its financial estimates in the legislature and reports upon the department's activities.

Besides its political head (the Minister) each department has a senior civil servant, who, as a professional educator and permanent official, advises the Minister on policy and thus determines to an appreciable extent the continuing program on education; together with his staff he carries out the program approved by the Minister on behalf of the provincial government.

## Denominational Divisions

In the province of Ontario, the senior permanent official is called the Chief Director of Education and he is assisted by two deputy ministers. In Quebec, the senior official has the title of Superintendent of Education and he is assisted by a Deputy Minister (Catholic) and by a Director of Protestant Education having the rank of Deputy Minister. The two denominational divisions extend downward throughout the department and school system. In Newfoundland the Deputy Minister, who co-ordinates the work of the department, is assisted by five superintendents, each representative of a religious denomination through which the schools are operated—Roman Catholic, Church of England, United Church of Canada, Salvation Army, and the Pentecostal Assemblies.

Apart from Quebec and Newfoundland, provision exists in three provinces for the es-

<sup>10</sup> Figures provided by the Education Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, to the author on request.

tablishment of separate or denominational schools for the minority (either Catholic or Protestant) who dissent from the religious belief of the majority and who wish to maintain schools of their own. Such schools are operated under the authority and regulation of the provincial department of education and receive local and provincial tax support on the same basis as the schools of the majority. No legal provision is made for religious differences in the publicly supported schools of the remaining five provinces.

Under the direction of the deputy minister of education is a corps of professional education officials which usually includes a chief inspector (or chief superintendent) of schools, inspectors (superintendents) of high schools and elementary schools, directors of curricula, vocational education, teacher education, guidance, audio-visual education, correspondence education, adult education, physical education and a registrar for the department. The last named official is chiefly concerned with the issuing of teaching certificates, records of educational personnel, and, in some cases, departmental summer courses.

Generally speaking, a typical provincial department of education draws up courses of study, authorizes text books, issues regulations regarding qualifications of teachers, provides for their training and issues their certificates, and generally supervises the work of the schools. The department usually has special responsibility for public libraries.

While the department of education is responsible for education within a province, it has delegated a good deal of responsibility for the operation of the schools to local education authorities. These authorities are very similar to school boards in the United States; elected for one or two year terms, they build and maintain the schools, employ the teachers, establish salary scales, and generally manage the day-to-day work of the schools. In carrying out this responsibility they receive financial grants from the provincial government amounting, on the average, to about half the cost of education; these may take the form of grants for capital construction, instructional costs, equalization purposes, and matching specific local expenditures.

Supplemented by the provincial grant, the local authority, or school board, establishes

its budget which is raised through property taxes. In a majority of the provinces the school board is financially independent of the town or city council for the operating expenses of the schools; its budget cannot be rejected by the council which must strike a tax rate sufficient to raise the money requested. In other provinces the school board is either a committee of the council or is dependent upon it; the budget it proposes is therefore subject to ratification by the council as a whole. Larger urban centers may, and increasingly must, appoint their own supervisory officials such as a Director of Education with various assistants, although these are required to have qualifications established by the provincial department of education.

In a recent review of trends in Canadian education, Dr. W. H. Swift, Deputy Minister of Education for Alberta, stated that a lessening of provincial authority, or at least of the exercise of such authority, is one of the few discernible national trends in Canadian education.<sup>11</sup> In a work published nine years earlier Dr. J. G. Althouse expressed the view that, without shirking its responsibility, "the provincial department now delegates a greater measure of it to the competent local educational authorities. . . . While the Americans are moving towards centralization, we are moving away from it."<sup>12</sup>

#### Decentralization

This trend towards some decentralization may also be noted in the preparation of school curricula. Within limits in one large province local school boards may establish a curriculum in elementary schools, subject to its approval by the department of education; in the same province there is now a permissive list of textbooks instead of specific prescribed texts for the courses of study.

A more evident change has been the establishment in nearly all provinces of broadly based committees which advise the provincial Director of Curriculum and, through him, the Minister on curricular matters. Subject specialist teachers are invariably included on such committees, and in a number of prov-

<sup>11</sup> W. H. Swift, *Trends in Canadian Education* (Toronto, Gage, 1958), p. 28.

<sup>12</sup> J. G. Althouse, *Structure and Aims of Canadian Education* (Toronto, Gage, 1949), pp. 32, 33.

ince provision is also made for representation from groups of parents and other lay people.

It would appear that government direction of education at the provincial (or state) level in Canada lies somewhere between practices in Australia and the United States. In Australia there are no local school authorities, schools are built and maintained by the state, and teachers are not only trained but also employed by the state; in many American states, despite the state government's theoretical responsibility, urban areas and counties appear to be relatively independent. The Canadian philosophy has not changed greatly from the mid-nineteenth century; the provincial government from the time it assumed responsibility for education, has controlled it, in a real sense; but it relies on the local authority for the operation and maintenance of the schools. As Dr. J. G. Althouse expressed it, "no satisfactory substitute has yet been found for keen local interest in schools and for local pride in their efficiency."<sup>13</sup>

Little in the way of initiative might have been expected from the one-room rural school controlled by three trustees and taught by one teacher; such schools were characteristic of the Canadian (and United States) countryside for over a century. Towards the end of the 1930's in two provinces there was a strong move to consolidate small school units into large units or districts, and since World War II this development has taken place fairly rapidly in other provinces. The effect of this has been to close many uneconomic and inefficient one-room schools and to make possible the provision of a well-equipped and well-staffed high school to which rural students are brought by school bus. The number of one-room schools in Alberta was reduced from 3,000 to less than 500 and in Saskatchewan from 4,600 to 2,300. Concurrently an equalized assessment was established throughout consolidated districts and poorer sections were aided by their inclusion in sections which were economically better off.

Generally speaking, establishment of larger units of school administration in provinces west of Manitoba was accomplished by provincial legislation with provision for the residents of school units, after a trial period, to

petition for dissolution of the enlarged district. In Manitoba and provinces to the east, the provincial government encouraged the establishment of larger units but allowed the areas concerned to decide in advance whether or not they wished to form enlarged districts. Hence the consolidation of school districts in the east progressed more slowly. Regardless of the procedure followed, the development has proved popular and the effect has been to provide greater equality of educational opportunity throughout each province.

#### Government Participation

Since education is regarded increasingly as a subject of national importance and even as an instrument of national policy by some technically advanced countries, and as a means of economic development by many less developed areas, some comment should be made on the participation by the Canadian government in education. Having its origin in the history of simpler times but complicated by the massive expansion of government since then, the Canadian situation is not easy to illuminate in a short article.

The provincial governments are autonomous with respect to education within their borders, but the federal government is responsible for the education of Indians, Eskimos, other children in the Northern Territories outside the provinces, inmates of penitentiaries, and children of service personnel on military establishments. In addition, it made grants for vocational and technical education as early as 1913, under agreement with the provinces. Until recently such grants amounted to 50 per cent, based on the principle of matching grants, but as a result of legislation which came into effect on April 1, 1961, the federal contribution has increased to 75 per cent for capital construction (until March 31, 1963). Grants for operating costs remain as before at 50 per cent, these being limited to a relatively small stated maximum. The agency concerned is the Canadian Vocational Training Branch of the Department of Labour, which receives advice from a Dominion-Provincial Vocational Training Advisory Council.

Some nine federal government departments are involved in educational activities

<sup>13</sup> Althouse, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

of one kind and another,<sup>14</sup> although these are minor in relation to the educational activities of the provincial governments. Of these a particularly important agency is the Education Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics which, as its name would imply, publishes statistical and related reports on all levels of education.

Among other government departments concerned directly or indirectly with education are Citizenship and Immigration (aid to provinces for evening classes for adult immigrants), External Affairs (educational and cultural relations abroad), Finance (financial aid to universities via an independent agency), and such government supported agencies as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the National Film Board.

Because of great changes that have taken place since Confederation, particularly through improvements in communication and transportation, new problems and new needs have arisen in Canadian education which in other countries have received the attention of the national government, usually through a ministry of education or a federal office of education. In the United Kingdom where the independence of local education authorities has been traditional, the Board of Education became, in 1944, the much more effective Ministry of Education; in Australia where autonomy of the state governments in education is strongly entrenched, the Commonwealth Office of Education was established in 1945.

There is no evidence at present that either a national ministry or a federal office of education is likely to be established in Canada in the foreseeable future, so this country remains, except for education statistics, without any federally supported office primarily concerned with education. Yet some federal funds trickle in devious ways into the parched fields of education. Ottawa pays substantial equalization grants to the provinces for general purposes of government; some of this money is no doubt used for educational purposes. Substantial federal funds, as has been mentioned, are available for vocational education.

#### **University Aid**

With respect to federal aid at the university level, a Royal Commission (the Massey

Commission) recommended in 1951 that the federal government pay unrestricted annual grants to universities on a \$.50 per capita basis. The government promptly approved but after one year the Quebec provincial government refused acceptance of the funds. The per capita grant was raised to \$1.00 in 1957 (total \$18 million) and to avoid any semblance of federal interference with education these funds were paid to the National Conference of Canadian Universities (central agency of the universities) for distribution to the universities. This arrangement (the amount was increased to \$1.50 in 1959, totalling \$27 million) did not prove acceptable to Quebec whose late premier was reported to have said that Ottawa was entering into education by the back door instead of the front. Under a new formula (1960) the province of Quebec agreed to tax corporations an amount that will yield not less than \$1.50 per capita, the proceeds to be turned over by the provincial government to the universities; on its part the federal government reduced its corporation tax in Quebec by that amount. Other provinces have the option of using this formula but so far they have continued to accept the direct federal grant by way of the university-controlled central agency.

Again largely related to university aid, the federal government established in 1957 the independent Canada Council supported by a fund of \$100 million. Its purposes were (a) to encourage the arts, humanities and social sciences (but not public education) through interest on the amount of \$50 million regarded as an endowment, (b) to allocate the remaining \$50 million to universities for capital construction, (c) to establish a Canadian National Commission for UNESCO. (Since in other countries the National Commission, which frequently deals with educational matters, is ordinarily under a national Ministry of Education or an External or Foreign Affairs Department, the ingenuity of this device in the Canadian situation is impressive).

Canada shares only with Switzerland and the Federal Republic of West Germany the distinction of having no federally supported central education agency. In consequence federal involvement in education, which ap-

<sup>14</sup> *Organization and Administration of Education, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Education Division (1960)*, p. 223.

pears to be increasingly inevitable, tends to be based on temporary specific needs rather than on long term considerations. Some problems, which deserve national attention, are neglected because the federal government's role in education is clearly limited; other problems, often of less importance, receive federal attention because a "back door" happens to be open. In the latter case there is not always the consultation between the competent educational authorities and the federal authorities which would make the operation as effective as it might and deserves to be.

A step towards the solution of this dilemma was taken in 1960 when the ten provincial ministers responsible for education (nine ministers of education and the Minister of Youth for Quebec) formally established themselves as a Standing Committee for the purpose of consulting "upon such matters as are of common interest to the provincial Departments charged with responsibility for ed-

ucation."<sup>15</sup> The Committee will use the office of the Canadian Education Association (financed by the ten provincial departments of education) as a secretariat. The effectiveness of the Committee will depend upon how much the ministers will be prepared to interest themselves in educational matters that have inter-provincial implications, and the degree to which the federal government will inhibit itself from taking conveniently unilateral action when pressures of one kind or another suggest that some sort of action is necessary, or at least defensible. In the meantime there is a growing conviction that, while education is a provincial responsibility, it exhibits some problems of national interest and concern. It is to be hoped that the Canadian Education Association through its Standing Committee of Ministers, or some other agency equally acceptable to the appropriate government authorities, can be sufficiently developed to give leadership and direction in educational matters of common concern to the provinces, and hence to Canada as a whole.

<sup>15</sup> The Canadian Education Association Constitution (Revised, 1960), Article V, Section 1.

(Continued from p. 332)

principles of secular public education, but without success; and we may consider the present difficulties of French education as one reflection of a system whose general lines and whose lifeblood of funds depend in the last analysis on the alien opportunism of political manœuvres.

It is important, however, to consider whether this judgment cannot apply to other countries, not least the United States, where educational policy lies in the broad laps and narrow minds of assemblies and pressure groups no more enlightened, no less prejudiced, and certainly no less alien to the concerns of education itself, than those of the French. In so far as educational enterprise passes the limits of private endeavor, the tremendous scale and resources it requires must expose it to control by men, by services or by assemblies for whom—quite naturally, and often rightly—education is only one of

many concerns; generally, only a means to another end.

Education is an essential, but not a solitary, aspect of a society's needs. The important thing is that, in competing for their share of the national resources, educational interests should be well represented: that is, intelligently and effectively represented. That these representatives should have a coherent concept of their nature and purpose, which they can present to the society of which they are a part and also an interlocutor. And that they should, by their own activity, prepare the public that will, now or later, approach their arguments with the critical understanding they require and that only they can form—the public that will provide them with the means of going ahead, of continuing their work, of doing yet more. Judged by these criteria, the French public education system can hold its own.

Seaweed is a unique material. It is used as a medium in which to grow bacteria; as a food in such countries as Japan; and, in France, for soil improvement. From a *Twentieth Century Fund Report*.

## Received At Our Desk

### History and Politics . . .

**THE CONSEIL D'ETAT IN MODERN FRANCE.** By CHARLES E. FREEDEMAN. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. 167 pages, appendices, bibliography and index, \$5.00.)

"France is not governed but administered." In recent years Herbert Leuthy and other writers have illuminated for the English-speaking world the significance of this now-familiar French expression. They have taught us to appreciate the role of the respected, self-perpetuating, nearly autonomous administration in holding the French state together through all the changes of regime since 1789 and through all the cabinet crises and other turmoils of the Third and Fourth Republics.

Mr. Freedeman's lucid study deals with one of the three *grands corps* of that remarkably stable and effective administrative structure. The Conseil d'Etat, along with the Inspectorate of Finance and the Court of Accounts, has had a profound influence on the conduct of public affairs ever since its establishment in 1800. "Being somewhat of an intermediary between the Council of Ministers and the active administration, and largely independent of either, the Conseil d'Etat is in a position to exert its influence on both. The spirit of the Conseil permeates the whole of the administration. . . ."

After tracing the structural evolution of the Conseil from 1872 to the present, the study examines the formal and informal ways in which the Conseil and its members make their influence felt. On the formal side, the Conseil has two separate functions, performed by different sections of the organization. One is to serve as technical counselor to the government on the drafting of bills and decrees. The other is to serve as an administrative court, in which capacity it ably protects the in-

dividual citizen from illegal administrative action. On the informal side the Conseil affects top policy-making and execution through the detached-service activities of its members, who often take high-level jobs with cabinet ministers and in ministerial departments.

The author's discussion of all these matters is enlivened by accounts of his conversations with members of the Conseil and by quotations from documents he consulted at its offices in the Palais Royal. An indispensable book for students of French political institutions and of comparative administration and public law.

HENRY WELLS  
University of Pennsylvania

**THE IDEA OF THE JEWISH STATE.** By BEN HALPERN (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961. 492 pages, appendix, bibliography, index, \$10.00.)

At the recent twenty-fifth World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem, Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion bitterly criticized American Zionists for failing to settle in Israel and asserted that "every religious Jew has daily violated the precepts of Judaism by remaining in exile." His criticisms have focused attention anew on the future of Zionism, and its relation to the state of Israel.

Ben Halpern, Research Associate in Israeli Studies at Harvard University, has written an excellent study on the historical background of Zionism and the relationship between "the successive reformulations of the idea of Jewish sovereignty undertaken by Zionists in the endeavor to obtain the approval and support of the Jewish community," and "successive reformulations of the idea in the debates and negotiations of the Zionists with the powers, political interests, and international bodies that concerned themselves with the questions of Palestine and Zionism."

The historical antecedents of Zionism, the political crises faced by the early Zionists, and the differing views of purpose and direction which developed within the Jewish community—differences, incidentally, remaining to this day—are all developed and analyzed with clarity and sensitivity. Though written for the general intelligent layman, this book is an outstanding product of scholarship. It is perhaps the most comprehensive and systematic study yet written on the Zionist movement.

The final chapter develops Israel's policy toward the U.N. and the Arab states. In commenting on Israel's stand and subsequent action during the 1956 Suez crisis, the author notes that: "The character of the Jewish state and the way in which it conceives its own sovereignty today must be understood in the light of the position taken by Israel in that crisis. The idea of a Jewish state, as we have seen, was susceptible to all kinds of restrictions, modifications, or deferments of sovereignty so long as the central purpose and myth image of auto-Emancipation was served, or at least not blocked by them. But to seek to impose such restrictions as would deny this central purpose provoked a resistance, and an insistence on the prerogatives of sovereignty, which was as fierce as it was determined. In the exercise of its sovereignty in the face of such challenges, Israel was prepared to risk all extremities and to stake its very existence on an all-or-nothing choice."

A.Z.R.

**THE PRIVATE PAPERS OF HORE-BELISHA.** By R. J. MINNEY (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1961. 320 pages and index, \$4.50.)

In the summer of 1937, Leslie Hore-Belisha was appointed Secretary of State for War and the British army underwent a series of far-reaching reforms which enabled it to be partially ready for war in 1939. However, as so often happens when entrenched, tradition-bound bureaucrats find their position threatened, there is a coalition of hostile elements for the purpose of eliminating the reformer. In

January, 1940, Hore-Belisha was forced to resign. The reasons were complex: "some had been opposed to the changes Hore-Belisha had made in the army, others were angry at having to give way to younger men, while many had been appalled by his energetic intervention in order to get things done, instead of allowing the military members of the Army Council to make the decisions."

R. J. Minney, British editor and writer, has written an absorbing account of the "climactic and most dramatic period" of Hore-Belisha's stormy career. Drawing heavily upon the "diaries, notes and letters covering the period of his [Hore-Belisha's] life which is of national and historical interest, the author has supplied a commentary, linking the discrete parts of the diaries, and added an Epilogue "to tell of his remaining years and sudden death." This he has done with skill and sensitivity.

There is perhaps no more fascinating and tragic period of the twentieth century than the period prior to the outbreak of the second World War. The papers of Hore-Belisha provide some illuminating insights into the men who made the major decisions of the period, their attitudes and their shortcomings. No historian of the period will be able to ignore this valuable compilation and narrative.

A. Z. R.

**THEN AND NOW: QUAKER ESSAYS, HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY.** By FRIENDS OF HENRY JOEL CADBURY. EDITED BY ANNA BRINTON. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960. 352 pages and index, \$5.00.)

This collection of essays in honor of Henry Cadbury's twenty-two years of service with the American Friends Service Committee is "a platter of mixed fruits," philosophical, historical and scholarly. There are no bad apples in this lot. The selections cover multifaceted aspects of Quaker history and examine the meaning of Quakerism in today's world.

"Now and then," a pseudonym used by Henry Cadbury, has been used for the title of this book. Mary Hoxie Jones' bio-

graphical sketch also picks up this theme; she points out that Henry Cadbury lived in "the now," dedicated to a life of service and fellowship. His scholarship added another dimension, "the then." This is an outstanding collection of essays contributed by such notable persons as Frederick B. Tolles, Elizabeth Gray Vining, and Douglas V. Steere.

T.H.B.

**CHINA CROSSES THE YALU: THE DECISION TO ENTER THE KOREAN WAR.** By ALLEN S. WHITING. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960. 219 pages, bibliography and index, \$7.50.)

In November, 1950, Chinese "volunteers" intervened in Korea and forced the United Nations to retreat below the thirty-eighth parallel in one of the worst defeats ever suffered by American troops. The Chinese intervention completely changed the character of the Korean conflict, and, in a sense, the entire political picture in the Far East.

Allen S. Whiting, one of the most distinguished scholars currently writing on Sino-Soviet and Chinese Communist foreign relations, has directed his talents toward answering the question: Why did the Chinese intervene? In a brilliant piece of analysis, he has reconstructed the complex pattern of factors which influenced Peking. Whiting's presentation is cogent, clear, and convincing.

He notes that "the available evidence agrees with most non-Communist conjecture that the North Korean attack was planned and directed by the Soviet Union." Although Peking did not apparently participate in the planning of the attack, it probably knew of Moscow's intentions. During the early months after the North Korean attack, Peking "appeared to avoid any specific and immediate commitment to assist North Korea, but instead placed Taiwan, as the primary Chinese problem, ahead of the neighboring war." However, with the United Nations landing at Inchon on September 15, the entire complexion of the war changed. The closer American troops came to the Chinese border, the more concerned did Peking become. In carefully reasoned,

scrupulously researched chapters, the author discusses the diplomatic maneuvering at the United Nations, the Chinese image of India and the West, and the imperatives that finally led to the Chinese intervention.

A.Z.R.

**THE CROSS AND THE FASCES: CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM IN ITALY.** By RICHARD A. WEBSTER. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960. 229 pages, bibliography and index, \$5.00.)

The Christian Democratic party emerged as one of the most important political parties in postwar Italy. Richard Webster has written "of its past and of the inner life of Italian Catholicism." He traces the rise of Catholic protest movements in the nineteenth century, devoting particular attention to the failure of the Popular party and the triumph of Fascism in 1922. Part II of the book treats the re-emergence of the democratic tradition in the form of the Christian Democratic party.

"The history of the Italian Catholic movement throws light upon one of the great problems of world history, that of the relationship of the Roman Church and the pontiff to the modern State and to civil society in general. . . . The Papacy has come to depend on alliances with rulers, from Francis I to Mussolini, which assured it a substantial indirect power. However, in our time this method has been visibly failing, and the Church has begun to exert its indirect power in complex new ways. The Catholic lay militant has been pressed into service as a twofold intermediary between the Papacy and the modern State: as a member of Catholic Action he responds to the Hierarchy and assists it, but as a Christian Democrat he assumes direct political responsibilities that the Hierarchy must shun."

A.Z.R.

**NASSER'S NEW EGYPT.** By KEITH WHEELOCK. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1960. 326 pages and index, \$6.00.)

*Nasser's New Egypt* is a readable, in-  
(Continued on p. 367)

# Current Documents

## THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON EDUCATION

On February 20, 1961, President John F. Kennedy sent Congress a message asking for federal aid for public schools and for scholarship aid to students going on to college. The complete text of his message follows:

Our progress as a nation can be no swifter than our progress in education. Our requirements for world leadership, our hopes for economic growth, and the demands of citizenship itself in an era such as this all require the maximum development of every young American's capacity.

The human mind is our fundamental resource. A balanced Federal program must go well beyond incentives for investment in plant and equipment. It must include equally determined measures to invest in human beings—both in their basic education and training and in their more advanced preparation for professional work. Without such measures, the Federal Government will not be carrying out its responsibilities for expanding the base of our economic and military strength.

Our progress in education over the last generation has been substantial. We are educating a greater proportion of our youth to a higher degree of competency than any other country on earth. One-fourth of our total population is enrolled in our schools and colleges. This year \$26,000,000,000 will be spent on education alone.

But the needs of the next generation—the needs of the next decade and the next school year—will not be met at this level of effort. More effort will be required on the part of the students, teachers, schools, colleges and all fifty states—and on the part of the Federal Government.

Education must remain a matter of state and local control, and higher education a matter of individual choice. But education is increasingly expensive. Too many state and local governments lack the resources to assure an adequate education for every child. Too many classrooms are overcrowded. Too many teachers are under-paid. Too many talented individuals cannot afford the bene-

fits of higher education. Too many academic institutions cannot afford the cost of, or find room for, the growing numbers of students seeking admission in the Sixties.

Our twin goals must be: A new standard of excellence in education—and the availability of such excellence to all who are willing and able to pursue it.

### I. Assistance to Public Elementary and Secondary Schools

A successful educational system requires the proper balance, in terms of both quality and quantity, of three elements: students, teachers and facilities. The quality of the students depends in large measure on both the quality and the relative quantity of teachers and facilities.

Throughout the Nineteen Sixties there will be no lack in the quantity of students. An average net gain of nearly one million pupils a year during the next ten years will overburden a school system already strained by well over a half-million pupils in curtailed or half-day sessions, a school system financed largely by a property tax incapable of bearing such an increased load in most communities.

But providing the quality and quantity of teachers and facilities to meet this demand will be major problems. Even today, there are some 90,000 teachers who fall short of full certification standards. Tens of thousands of others must attempt to cope with classes of unwieldy size because there are insufficient teachers available.

We cannot obtain more and better teachers—and our children should have the best—unless steps are taken to increase teachers' salaries. At present salary levels, the classroom cannot compete in financial rewards with other professional work that requires similar academic background.

It is equally clear that we do not have enough classrooms. In order to meet current needs and accommodate increasing enrollments, if every child is to have the opportunity of a full-day education in an adequate classroom, a total of 600,000 classrooms must be constructed during the next ten years.

These problems are common to all states. They are particularly severe in those states which lack the financial resources to provide a better education, regardless of their own efforts. Additional difficulties, too often overlooked, are encountered in areas of special educational need, where economic or social circumstances impose special burdens and opportunities on the public school.

These areas of special educational need include our depressed areas of chronic unemployment and the slum neighborhoods of our larger cities, where underprivileged children are overcrowded into substandard housing.

A recent survey of a very large elementary school in one of our major cities, for example, found 91 per cent of the children coming to class with poor diets, 87 per cent in need of dental care, 21 per cent in need of visual correction and 19 per cent with speech disorders.

In some depressed areas roughly one-third of the children must rely on surplus foods for their basic sustenance. Older pupils in these schools lack proper recreational and job guidance. The proportion of drop-outs, delinquency and classroom disorders in such areas is alarmingly high.

I recommend to the Congress a three-year program of general Federal assistance for public elementary and secondary classroom construction and teachers' salaries.

Based essentially on the bill which passed the Senate last year (S. 8), although beginning at a more modest level of expenditures, this program would assure every state of no less than \$15 for every public school student in average daily attendance, with the total amount appropriated (\$666,000,000 being authorized in the first year, rising to \$866,000,000 over a three-year period) distributed according to the equalization formula contained in the last year's Senate bill, and already familiar to the Congress by virtue of its similarity to the formulas contained in the Hill-Burton hospital construction and other acts. Ten per cent of the funds allocated to

each state in the first year, and an equal amount thereafter, is to be used to help meet the unique problems of each state's "areas of special educational need"—depressed areas, slum neighborhoods and others.

This is a modest program with ambitious goals. The sums involved are relatively small when we think in terms of more than 36,000,000 public school children, and the billions of dollars necessary to educate them properly. Nevertheless, a limited beginning now—consistent with our obligations in other areas of responsibility—will encourage all states to expand their facilities to meet the increasing demand and enrich the quality of education offered, and gradually assist our relatively low-income states in the elevation of their educational standards to a national level.

The bill which will follow this message has been carefully drawn to eliminate disproportionately large or small inequities; and to make the maximum use of a limited number of dollars. In accordance with the clear prohibition of the Constitution, no elementary or secondary school funds are allocated for constructing church schools or paying church school teachers' salaries; and thus non-public school children are rightfully not counted in determining the funds each state will receive for its public schools.

Each state will be expected to maintain its own effort or contribution; and every state whose effort is below the national average will be expected to increase that proportion of its income which is devoted to public elementary and secondary education.

This investment will pay rich dividends in the years ahead—in increased economic growth, in enlightened citizens, in national excellence. For some forty years, the Congress has wrestled with this problem and searched for a workable solution. I believe that we now have such a solution; and that this Congress in this year will make a landmark contribution to American education.

## II. Construction of College and University Facilities

Our colleges and universities represent our ultimate educational resource. In these institutions are produced the leaders and other trained persons whom we need to carry for-

ward our highly developed civilization. If the colleges and universities fail to do their job, there is no substitute to fulfill their responsibility. The threat of opposing military and ideological forces in the world lends urgency to their task. But that task would exist in any case.

The burden of increased enrollments—imposed upon our elementary and secondary schools already in the Fifties—will fall heavily upon our colleges and universities during the Sixties. By the autumn of 1966, an estimated one million more students will be in attendance at institutions of higher learning than enrolled last fall—for a total more than twice as high as the total college enrollment of 1950.

Our colleges, already hard-pressed to meet rising enrollments since 1950 during a period of rising costs, will be in critical straits merely to provide the necessary facilities, much less the cost of quality education.

The country as a whole is already spending nearly \$1,000,000,000 a year on academic and residential facilities for higher education—some 20 per cent of the total spent for higher education. Even with increased contributions from state, local and private sources, a gap of \$2,900,000,000 between aggregate needs and expenditures is anticipated by 1965, and a gap of \$5,200,000,000 by 1970.

The national interest requires an educational system on the college level sufficiently financed and equipped to provide every student with adequate physical facilities to meet his instructional, research and residential needs.

I therefore recommend legislation which will:

(1) Extend the current college housing loan program with a five-year \$250,000,000 a year program designed to meet the Federal Government's appropriate share of residential housing for students and faculty. As a start, additional lending authority is necessary to speed action during fiscal 1961 on approvable loan applications already at hand.

(2) Establish a new, though similar, long-term, low-interest rate loan program for academic facilities, authorizing \$300,000,000 in loans each year for five years to assist in the construction of classrooms, laboratories, libraries, and related structures—sufficient to

enable public and private higher institutions to accommodate the expanding enrollments they anticipate over the next five years; and also to assist in the renovation, rehabilitation, and modernization of such facilities.

### III. Assistance to College and University Students

This nation a century or so ago established as a basic objective the provision of a good elementary and secondary school education to every child, regardless of means. In 1961, patterns of occupation, citizenship and world affairs have so changed that we must set a higher goal. We must assure ourselves that every talented young person who has the ability to pursue a program of higher education will be able to do so if he chooses, regardless of his financial means.

Today private and public scholarship and loan programs established by numerous states, private sources, and the student loan program under the National Defense Education Act are making substantial contributions to the financial needs of many who attend our colleges. But they still fall short of doing the job that must be done. An estimated one-third of our brightest high school graduates are unable to go on to college, principally for financial reasons.

While I shall subsequently ask the Congress to amend and expand the student loan and other provisions of the National Defense Education Act, it is clear that even with this program many talented but needy students are unable to assume further indebtedness in order to continue their education.

I therefore recommend the establishment of a five-year program with an initial authorization of \$26,250,000 of state-administered scholarships for talented and needy young people which will supplement but not supplant those programs of financial assistance to students which are now in operation.

Funds would be allocated to the states during the first year for a total of 25,000 scholarships averaging \$700 each, 37,500 scholarships the second year, and 50,000 for each succeeding year thereafter.

These scholarships, which would range according to need up to a maximum stipend of \$1,000, would be open to all young persons, without regard to sex, race, creed or color,

solely on the basis of their ability—as determined on a competitive basis—and their financial need. They would be permitted to attend the college of their choice, and free to select their own program of study. Inasmuch as tuition and fees do not normally cover the institution's actual expenses in educating the student, additional allowances to the college or university attended should accompany each scholarship to enable these institutions to accept the additional students without charging an undue increase in fees or suffering an undue financial loss.

#### IV. Vocational Education

The National Vocational Education Acts, first enacted by the Congress in 1917 and subsequently amended, have provided a program of training for industry, agriculture, and other occupational areas. The basic purpose of our vocational education effort is sound and sufficiently broad to provide a basis for meeting future needs. However, the technological changes which have occurred in all occupations call for a review and re-evaluation of these acts, with a view toward their modernization.

To that end, I am requesting the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to convene an advisory body drawn from the edu-

cational profession, labor-industry, and agriculture as well as the lay public, together with representation from the Departments of Agriculture and Labor, to be charged with the responsibility of reviewing and evaluating the current National Vocational Education Acts, and making recommendations for improving and redirecting the program.

#### Conclusion

These stimulatory measures represent an essential though modest contribution which the Federal Government must make to American education at every level. One-sided aid is not enough. We must give attention to both teachers' salaries and classrooms, both college academic facilities and dormitories, both scholarships and loans, both vocational and general education.

We do not undertake to meet our growing educational problems merely to compare our achievements with those of our adversaries. These measures are justified on their own merits—in times of peace as well as peril, to educate better citizens as well as better scientists and soldiers. The Federal Government's responsibility in this area has been established since the earliest days of the republic—it is time now to act decisively to fulfill that responsibility for the Sixties.

*(Continued from p. 363)*

formative, comprehensive account of timely significance. With the assistance of the Egyptian government, Wheelock was able to undertake an analysis of Nasser's military regime. However, as the author makes clear in his introduction, "this should not imply that the President (Nasser) concurs with the conclusions of this book; in fact, he has, in the past, indicated strong disapproval of many of my views." Though sympathetic with Nasser's objectives, Wheelock reports critically and authoritatively on economic, social, military, and political developments. In particular, he notes that the currents of reform, which ran so strongly after the 1952 overthrow of Farouk, have slowed considerably.

There is an excellent chapter on the background and significance of "The High Dam," and three more on Nasser's foreign policy. The need for internal re-

form has been overshadowed by Nasser's preoccupation with international adventures. "He has played the cards of 'positive neutrality' for high stakes and, to date, bluff and courage have kept him in the game. But Egypt has benefited little from Nasser's international adventures." Internally, efforts to establish a stable political structure have been hesitant and faint-hearted. It appears that the military will continue to rule for some time to come.

The author's final note on Nasser bears mentioning: "If he chooses, he can become one of the great personalities of the twentieth century, at least within the Afro-Asian world. But, paradoxically, he can achieve this distinction only if he tempers his personal desire to dominate the Arab world and concentrates instead on meeting the manifold needs of his nation." There is little to indicate that Nasser prefers the road to greatness.

A.Z.R.

# The Month in Review

## INTERNATIONAL

### Central Treaty Organization (Cento)

April 27—At the opening session of the (Cento) Ministerial Council, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk assures members that the U.S. will support mutual defense against Communist aggression in the "northern tier" of the Middle East.

April 28—Cento's Ministerial Council adds a military command post to the Cento secretariat; the commander is not named.

### Disarmament

April 14—The U.S.S.R. says that its territory will not be open to international inspection for 4 years after ratification of a nuclear test ban treaty.

April 18—At Geneva, the U.S. and Britain offer the draft of a nuclear test ban treaty, instead of continuing to discuss proposals section by section.

April 28—At Geneva, the conference discussing a nuclear test ban recesses for 4 days.

### International Court of Justice (World Court)

April 5—The 15 members of the International Court of Justice elect Judge Bohdan Winiarski of Poland president; Judge Ricardo J. Alfaro of Panama is to serve as vice-president.

### North Atlantic Treaty Organization

April 18—It is reported from Paris that the Nato Council is offering the Secretary Generalship of Nato to Netherlands Ambassador to Nato Dirk U. Stikker.

### Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (See also Laos.)

April 30—Seato's Council of Representatives confers in Bangkok on "the increasingly grave situation in Laos."

### United Nations

April 1—The Greater New York Council of the National Committee for a Sane Nu-

clear Policy sponsors a 3,500-person Easter March for Peace that demonstrates in front of the United Nations buildings.

April 2—The U.N.'s Department of Economic and Social Affairs estimates that the world's population will pass the 3 billion mark sometime in 1961.

April 3—The General Assembly supports an emergency extension for 3 more weeks of Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold's authority to use funds for the Congo.

April 4—At the Economic and Social Council's opening session, the U.S.S.R. charges that the session is illegal because a deadlock in the Assembly on the choice of a successor to the Netherlands has resulted in a vacancy on the Council.

France states opposition to the \$120 million expense of the Congo military operation in 1961.

April 5—The U.S.S.R. withdraws its request for a U.N. inquiry into U.S. plane flights over Russian territory, and suggests that the U.S. abandon its concern for Hungary and Tibet in the interest of international cooperation.

Hammarskjold makes "a standing offer of resignation" if the General Assembly requests this action.

April 6—A Conciliation Commission for the Congo is suggested by 15 Asian and African nations.

April 7—The General Assembly asks the Union of South Africa to abandon dictatorial practices in South West Africa.

April 10—The General Assembly's Special Political Committee asks U.N. members for "separate and collective action" against South Africa, to hasten the end of apartheid.

April 11—An African aid plan for long-term economic and social progress is submitted in a draft resolution to the Political Committee of the General Assembly by 24 African states. South Africa and Guinea are the only African members of the U.N. not sponsoring the suggestion.

April 13—Voting 95-1 (Portugal dissenting) the General Assembly scores South Africa's policies of racial discrimination. South Africa, Spain and Nepal are not present to vote.

April 18—The United States offers to assume \$47,510,000 of the Congo military operation expense burden.

April 20—Independence for Tanganyika and the British Cameroons is recommended by the Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly. The British plan to grant Tanganyika independence from British trusteeship December 28. In line with a plebiscite of February, the Northern Cameroon will join Nigeria June 1; the Southern Cameroon will join the Republic of Cameroon October 1.

A seven-nation Latin American suggestion that the U.S.-Cuba dispute should be referred to the Organization of American States is endorsed by Australia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Italy, and Peru; U. S. support for the suggestion is indicated.

April 21—Legislative elections in Ruanda-Urundi in August are ordered by the General Assembly; a U.N. supervisory commission for the elections is to be provided; Belgium is scored for failure to cooperate.

April 22—The fifteenth session of the General Assembly, longest in its history, ends at 6 A.M. after approving an authorization of \$100 million for Congo military operations.

#### West Africa

April 29—Ghanaian President Kwame Nkrumah, Guinean President Sekou Toure, and Mali President Modibo Keita sign a charter establishing a Union of African states. The charter awaits ratification by the 3 parliaments.

#### ARGENTINA

April 24—Minister of the Economy Alvaro C. Alsogaray resigns.

April 26—Roberto Alemann is sworn in as minister of economics. Foreign Minister Diogenes Taboada resigns.

April 28—Adolfo Mugica is sworn in as foreign minister.

#### AUSTRIA

April 11—Alfons Gorbach, People's Party

head, is sworn in as chancellor. He succeeds Julius Raab, who resigned for reasons of health.

#### BELGIUM

April 25—Theo Lefevre, President of the Christian Social party, is sworn in as premier and Paul-Henri Spaak, as vice-premier and foreign minister. The new coalition Cabinet includes 11 Christian Socialists and 9 Socialists.

#### BRAZIL

April 22—The meeting between President Janio Quadros of Brazil and President Arturo Frondizi of Argentina breaks up. Two documents are issued in which the two presidents condemn outside interference in Latin American affairs and agree to consult and work out common foreign policies.

#### BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

##### Ceylon

April 12—The Tamil Federal party reveals that a civil disobedience campaign will open April 14.

April 17—Governor General Sir Oliver Goonetilleke orders a state of emergency throughout Ceylon.

April 18—Sir Oliver Goonetilleke calls troops to active service because of a state of emergency.

April 26—The government orders general mobilization.

##### Cyprus

April 1—Because Turkish delegates in the House of Representatives are opposing tax law renewal until the Greeks agree to enforce a 70-30 ratio of Greeks to Turks in the Cypriote civil service, tax laws expire at midnight March 31.

##### Ghana

April 8—President Kwame Nkrumah orders Parliament members and ministers belonging to his party to end all business connections; Nkrumah's approval is required from now on for all public statements by party or government members.

April 18—Nkrumah reveals that the number of ministries in his government is being reduced.

Nkrumah reveals that Ghana plans to send an ambassador to the government of Antoine Gizenga in Stanleyville.

**Great Britain****(See also U.S., Foreign Policy.)**

April 3—31 demonstrators are arrested after a sit-down demonstration in front of the American Embassy in London protesting U.S. Polaris missile submarines.

April 17—Selwyn Lloyd, Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduces the 1961-1962 budget, reporting that the last year of widespread prosperity did not have "a sufficiently secure foundation."

April 24—A House of Commons motion asking the expansion of trade with Russia is accepted without a vote.

April 29—826 persons are arrested for participating in a sitdown protest against nuclear weapons in Whitehall.

**India**

April 3—B. P. Koirala, deposed Premier of Nepal, is reported from New Delhi to have ended a 10-day fast.

**Pakistan**

April 20—It is announced by the government that general elections will be held in February, 1962.

**Union of South Africa**

April 30—Governor General Charles R. Swart resigns his post; it is thought that he will run for the presidency.

**BRITISH EMPIRE****Kenya**

April 17—Speaking in New York, African nationalist leader Tom Mboya says that if South Africa is not excluded from Commonwealth economic preference, African and Asian nations may resign from the Commonwealth.

April 18—The Kenya African Democratic Union reaches agreement on cooperation to form a government.

**Sierra Leone**

April 27—Sierra Leone becomes independent. Governor General Sir Maurice Dorman says Sierra Leone plans to apply for Commonwealth and U.N. membership.

April 28—Parliament authorizes emergency powers; most Opposition leaders are already in detention under powers put into effect before independence.

**Singapore**

April 29—In a local ward election, Ong Eng Guan, who supports independence from Britain now, is elected to the Legislative Assembly by a primarily working-class electorate. The government's candidate is defeated.

**CONGO, REPUBLIC OF THE (Leopoldville)**

April 3—Cleophas Kamitatu, Leopoldville Province president, confers in Stanleyville with Eastern Province leader Antoine Gizenga, who was ex-Premier Lumumba's deputy. Kamitatu meets Gizenga in the capacity of a "neutral mediator" and not as a representative of the central government. It is believed that Kamitatu will urge Gizenga to accept the confederal proposal which was worked out at the Tana-narive conference.

April 4—Congolese in Elisabethville run wild following Katanga President Moise Tshombe's demand that the U.N. evacuate the Elisabethville airport or face an attack by Congolese.

Kamitatu returns to Leopoldville after talks with Gizenga.

April 5—U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold addresses the General Assembly and tells them that some 5000 Indian troops will be sent to Kamina in Katanga Province.

April 6—Kamitatu declares that Gizenga's proposal to meet with Leopoldville government representatives has been accepted by central government Premier Joseph Ileo.

April 7—The Leopoldville government announces that the economic ban on Eastern and Kivu provinces, under the rule of Gizenga, has been lifted.

April 15—The U.N. reports that mercenaries have been found among captured troops from secessionist Katanga Province. The U.N. General Assembly, 61-5 (33 abstentions), votes to demand that all Belgian military and political officials leave the Congo.

Talks on establishing economic relations between Katanga province and the rest of the Congo begin in Leopoldville.

April 17—According to Congolese army headquarters, a cease-fire has been ordered

along the Eastern Province and Equator Province frontier. It is also announced that field commanders leading forces under Gizenga have recognized Major General Joseph Mobutu of the central government as commander in chief.

President Joseph Kasavubu and the U.N. command authorities in Leopoldville sign an agreement to reorganize the Congo army and to remove foreign advisers. Kasavubu accepts the Security Council resolution of February 21 authorizing the use of force in the Congo if necessary provided that in carrying out the resolution, the U.N. will respect the sovereignty of the Congo.

April 19—Mobutu, returning from the Congo River town of Bumba, confirms that he has won over field commanders under Gizenga by promising "regular pay and new equipment."

April 24—Congolese leaders meet in Coquilhatville, capital of Equator Province, to decide on the powers and structure of the new Congo state.

April 25—President Tshombe leaves the Coquilhatville conference. He will not return to the meetings until Kasavubu agrees to his demand that the conference censure the U.N.

April 26—President Moise Tshombe of Katanga and other members of his party are arrested by Congolese soldiers as they prepare to board a plane for Elisabethville.

April 27—The Congolese government states that Tshombe was detained by soldiers acting on their own initiative and not by order of the government. The Congolese Press Agency reports that the government of President Kasavubu has invited Tshombe to return to his villa in Coquilhatville and that Tshombe has refused.

April 28—The U.N. arrests 6 Belgian advisers to President Tshombe at the request of Kasavubu. They are flown to Leopoldville and will be sent back to Belgium.

April 29—President Moise Tshombe is placed under new guard in a villa in Coquilhatville.

April 30—The central government announces that Tshombe will be removed from Coquilhatville to Leopoldville, where he will be detained in a private house.

Katanga Province's Cabinet demands

that Tshombe negotiate with the central government.

**CUBA (See *U. S. Foreign Policy*.)**

April 4—*Revolución*, official organ of the government of Fidel Castro, denounces the U.S. for urging Cuba to cut its ties to communism. (See also *U.S. Foreign Policy*, April 3.)

April 5—The U.S. government criticizes Cuba for failing to accord proper treatment to 22 imprisoned U.S. citizens.

Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa accuses the U.S. of supporting an army of 4,000-5,000 "counter-revolutionaries, mercenaries and adventurers" to be used against Castro.

April 6—An army of 5,000-6,000 under the direction of the Cuban Revolutionary Council, which established itself last month, is reported; troops are purported to be stationed at bases in Guatemala, Louisiana and Florida. It is disclosed that these troops have received infantry and artillery training from U.S. military men.

President José Miro Cardona, of the Cuban Revolutionary Council in exile, meets with U.S. coordinator of Latin American policies A. A. Berle, Jr., and ex-U.S. Ambassador to Cuba Philip W. Bonsal in Washington.

April 8—Miro Cardona issues a statement formulated by the Cuban National Revolutionary Council urging all Cubans to revolt against the Castro regime. He denies rumors that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is cooperating with his government in exile.

April 12—President Kennedy, at a news conference, states that U.S. government forces will not intervene in Cuba to overthrow the Castro regime and that he would oppose an invasion of Cuba launched from the U.S.

April 15—Three air bases are attacked and bombed by planes. Cuba charges that the attack was made by the U.S.

At a meeting of the U.N. General Assembly's Political Committee Cuban Foreign Minister Roa charges that the bombings precede an invasion of Cuba being prepared by the U.S. and other Latin American nations.

United States representative to the U.N.

Adlai Stevenson denies Roa's charge and reads a statement by one of the 3 fliers. The statement explains that the 3 fliers responsible for the bombings had defected from the Cuban air force and had carried out the attacks in 2 Cuban B-26 planes.

April 17—An invasion by anti-Castro forces begins. The rebels land on the southern coast of Cuba.

*Izvestia*, Soviet newspaper, charges the U.S. with responsibility for the invasion attack on Cuba. (See also *U.S.S.R.*)

Foreign Minister Roa tells the General Assembly's Political Committee that the invasion force has been organized by the U.S. Adlai Stevenson declares that the U.S. has not taken any aggressive action against Cuba.

April 18—Replying to warning from Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev that the U.S.S.R. would assist the Castro government to repel the invaders, Kennedy states that the U.S. will not brook military intervention by "outside forces." Kennedy reiterates his stand that the U.S. will not intervene militarily in Cuba. (See also *U.S.S.R.*)

April 20—Rebel invaders abandon their beachhead on the southern coast of Cuba.

Kennedy, in a radio and television broadcast, says that the U.S. policy of non-intervention in Cuban affairs will not be used to excuse "a policy of non-action." If necessary to the security of the U.S., the U.S. will take steps to halt "Communist expansion."

April 23—In a four-and-one-half hour radio and television broadcast Castro declares that if the U.S. continues to aid rebels, no mercy will be considered for the 458 captured invaders.

April 24—The Castro government declares that the total of rebel prisoners to date is 743.

It is disclosed today that on April 17 Cuban Revolutionary Council leaders were kept incomunicado in a house near Miami by Central Intelligence Agency Officers.

April 27—In a television broadcast Premier Castro tells some 1,000 captured rebels that he will urge clemency for them.

April 28—In reply to a Cuban offer that the U.S. and Cuba discuss their differences,

State Department spokesman Lincoln White says that "communism in this hemisphere is not negotiable."

April 30—Minister of Industry Ernesto Guevara tells television and radio audiences that Cuba has carried out the "first Socialist revolution in America." He declares that Cuba's economy will be patterned after that in Communist states.

#### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

(See *U.S. Foreign Policy.*)

#### ETHIOPIA

April 17—A Cabinet reshuffle is announced.

The government will be headed by the new premier, Aklilou Abde Wold.

#### FRANCE

April 11—President Charles de Gaulle declares that his country does not wish to participate in any activities of the U.N. He affirms his refusal to pay the French share of the U.N. costs in the Congo. He calls for a reorganization of the U.N.

April 20—Consultant on Atlantic Community Affairs for the U.S. Dean Acheson confers with de Gaulle in Paris; no disclosure of the content of the talks is made.

April 25—France tests its fourth atomic bomb in the Sahara.

#### FRANCE OVERSEAS

##### Algeria

April 3—The U.S. Ambassador to Tunisia Walter N. Walmsley, Jr., meets with 2 ministers of the Algerian rebel government in exile.

April 6—It is reported that talks scheduled to open tomorrow between French and Algerians will be delayed.

April 7—French police begin a full-scale campaign against Right-wing terrorists.

April 11—In a news conference, French President Charles de Gaulle tells Algerian rebel leaders that unless they cooperate in working out an Algerian settlement, France will partition Algeria. If they do cooperate, they will be given leading roles in building an independent Algeria with ties to France. De Gaulle also promises that once negotiations have started, Algerian rebels imprisoned in France will be confined to "controlled residence."

April 22—French Army elements in Algeria mutiny.

April 23—The French Cabinet declares a state of emergency; the French army revolt spreads to Oran. The Cabinet announces that 4 generals leading the mutiny will be courtmartialed. The mutineers arrest French military and civilian personnel in Algiers. The state of emergency gives de Gaulle, according to the French Constitution, strong powers to end the crisis.

Premier Michel Debré, in a nationwide television address, warns of a possible air attack by mutinous soldiers in Algeria. He urges the civilian population to gird itself to put down such an invasion.

April 24—The Algerian Provisional Government voices its opposition to the mutiny by Rightist army factions.

It is announced that de Gaulle has effected a complete blockade against Algeria.

Some 10 million French workers halt their labors for one or two hours to express their support for de Gaulle and for peace.

April 25—The mutiny by 4 French army generals, under the leadership of General Maurice Challe, is defeated just before midnight.

April 26—The 4 mutinous French Generals, Zeller, Jouhaud, Salan and Challe, disappear.

General Challe, who earlier disappeared with the other rightist rebel generals, is flown to Paris and imprisoned in the Santé prison. Details of how Challe fell into French hands are not revealed.

April 27—The First Paratroop Regiment of the Foreign Legion, it is announced, will be disbanded because of its support for the mutiny.

#### FRENCH COMMUNITY, THE Senegal

April 4—Premier Mamadou Dia, at the celebration of the first year of Senegalese independence, announces a 4-year economic and social development plan.

#### Togo

April 9—Elections to Togo's first National Assembly and for president are held.

#### GERMANY, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF (EAST)

April 20—East Germany announces the lift-

ing of tolls on barge traffic to and from Berlin.

#### GERMANY, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF (WEST)

April 10—Adenauer, in a television message on the eve of the Eichmann trial, declares that Nazism has been repudiated by the German people.

April 11—Adenauer arrives in Washington to confer with U.S. President John F. Kennedy. (See also U.S., *Foreign Policy*.)

April 14—War crimes charges against Theodor Oberlaender, brought by the West German Association of Victims of Nazism, are dropped, the Bonn prosecutor announces, for "lack of evidence." Oberlaender resigned as refugee minister last May because of controversy resulting from the charges.

#### GREECE

April 20—Premier Constantine Karamanlis ends a 3-day visit to Washington for talks with President Kennedy. The two leaders issue a joint communiqué supporting continued Greek-U.S. ties.

#### HAITI

April 7—President Francois Duvalier dissolves the legislature by decree. The decree also declares that the 2 houses of parliament will be replaced by a single legislative assembly as provided in the 1957 constitution.

April 30—Elections for the new unicameral legislature are held. All the candidates were approved by President Duvalier beforehand, it is reported.

#### INDONESIA

April 5—Official reports disclose that 25,000 Indonesian rebels in North Celebes have surrendered. This is regarded as the last rebel stronghold of the uprising against the Jakarta government on Sumatra and Celebes in 1958.

April 15—President Sukarno signs regulations recognizing 8 political parties, including the Communists, as legal. The legality of 2 other parties is pending. These 8 parties had to subscribe to Sukarno's "Left Progressive ideology." In the 1955 elections some 200 parties participated.

April 16—Sukarno leaves for a two-and-one-half month tour abroad.

April 24—Sukarno arrives in Washington where he is greeted by U.S. President John F. Kennedy. (See *U. S. Foreign Policy*.)

#### ISRAEL

April 11—The trial of Adolf Eichmann begins in Jerusalem. He is charged with crimes against the Jewish people and against humanity. Eichmann was chief of the Gestapo's Jewish Affairs Section during the Hitler regime.

The U. N. Security Council approves a resolution asking Israel to cancel displays of heavy military equipment scheduled to appear in an Independence Day parade on April 20 in Jerusalem.

April 15—The Israeli government confirms that Lieutenant Colonel Israel Beer, military adviser, was arrested on March 31. It is also reported that Colonel Beer confessed to charges of Communist espionage activities.

April 20—The thirteenth year since the establishment of Israel is celebrated in Jerusalem. Despite the Security Council resolution, heavy military arms are displayed.

#### JAPAN

April 29—100 Socialist members of the parliament have a small skirmish with police when they try to prevent the Speaker of the House from calling a vote on a farm bill. The bill is passed by the House and sent to the Senate. The Socialists boycott the vote.

#### LAOS

April 1—Replying to British proposals for a settlement to the Laotian crisis, the Soviet Union suggests an international conference in Cambodia to negotiate an end to the Laotian civil war. The Soviet Union approves the British proposal that the chairmen (Britain and the U.S.S.R.) of the 1954 Geneva conference ending the Indochina war issue a plea for a cease-fire in Laos.

April 5—U.S. President Kennedy and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan confer in Washington on the Laotian crisis.

April 10—State Department sources in Washington report that the Soviet airlift

of supplies to pro-Communist Pathet Lao rebels has been stepped up.

Prince Souvanna Phouma, exiled Premier of Laos, accepts a U.N. invitation to visit Washington. The Prince is scheduled to depart tomorrow for Belgrade and Moscow; he will interrupt his Moscow trip to visit Washington.

April 11—A U.S. State Department official reports that the U.S. is worried by Moscow's delay in accepting the British proposal of last March for an immediate cease-fire in Laos. So far the Soviet Union has neither accepted nor rejected the British plan for an immediate cease-fire.

April 12—President Kennedy, at a news conference, denies reports that the Soviet airlift of supplies to Laos has been greatly increased.

April 14—It is reported that U. S. Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., on orders from the State Department, called on Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko in Moscow yesterday to express U. S. disappointment at the Soviet Union's failure to respond to the British proposal for a cease-fire.

April 16—Prince Souvanna Phouma arrives in Moscow.

April 17—It is reported that Pathet Lao rebels have forced Laotian Army units to withdraw from defensive positions near Muong Nhommarath.

April 18—Prince Souvanna Phouma cancels his trip to Washington because of a conflict in the schedule.

April 19—The Laotian government announces that a U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group has been established. The Advisory Group will provide tactical advisers to Laotian army forces, and will also train Laotian soldiers and offer logistical advice. The U. S. forces will be in uniform.

April 21—British sources disclose that the Soviet Union and Britain have reached agreement on ending the Laotian civil war. It is reported that a cease-fire will be called next week.

Prince Souvanna Phouma leaves Moscow for Peking.

April 22—In a joint communiqué resulting from the recent talks between Soviet

Premier Khrushchev and Souvanna Phouma, it is declared that conditions "exist to normalize the situation in Laos."

April 24—Britain and the U.S.S.R. issue a plea for a cease-fire in Laos. The 2 nations ask India to reactivate the International Control Commission on Laos to make certain the cease-fire has been successful. They also send invitations for a 14-nation conference on Laos to convene in Geneva on May 12.

The U. S. State Department declares that the U. S. will not attend the Geneva conference until an actual cease-fire has been effected.

April 25—The Royal Laotian government agrees to a British request for a cease-fire. The Pathet Lao forces agree to heed the cease-fire request.

April 26—The U. S. Air Force airlifts arms to Royal Laotian troops after the Laotian government reports that Pathet Lao rebels have launched attacks in 5 areas.

April 28—The I.C.C. on Laos (composed of India, Poland and Canada) meets to consider the Laotian problem.

April 29—Pathet Lao forces attack Ban Keun, 44 miles north of Vientiane, it is reported. A Royal Laotian army officer, sent into an area near Ban Keun carrying a truce flag, is not met. This spot was chosen last week by rebels as a site for cease-fire talks. The officer was to reach agreement with the rebels on a date for a cease-fire, which both sides have already agreed to theoretically.

April 30—A radio broadcast from the Pathet Lao rebels declares that the pro-Communists will meet with the government of Premier Boun Oum at Ban Namone, on the road from Luang Prabang to Vientiane.

U.S. Ambassador at large W. Averell Harriman arrives in Luang Prabang for talks with King Savang Vathana, Prince Boun Oum and General Phoumi Nosavan.

#### NETHERLANDS, THE Netherlands New Guinea

April 5—The first elected Legislative Council of 28 members is sworn in. Sixteen were elected by 100,000 Papuans and the others were appointed by Dutch Governor

P. J. Platteel. Only 5 of the members are Dutch.

The Netherlands government tells the Legislative Council to work out a date and method for self-determination within the coming year.

#### POLAND

April 16—Poles vote for a new parliament and People's Councils (local governing bodies).

April 17—It is announced that 95.5 per cent of the Polish electorate voted yesterday.

April 22—Final returns reported today give First Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka 99.5 per cent of the votes cast in the elections.

#### PORUGAL

April 13—Premier Antonio de Oliveira Salazar reorganizes his Cabinet and takes over the defense ministry from General Julio Botelho Moniz. The ministers for overseas affairs and the army are replaced.

#### Angola

April 16—Troop reinforcements arrive in Angola from Portugal.

April 17—It is reported that rebels have razed completely a village in north Angola. Army and air units continue the campaign to crush the rebels.

April 19—Portuguese soldiers are sent in as reinforcements in northern Angola.

#### Mozambique

April 30—Rear Admiral Manuel Maria Sarmento Rodriguez is named the new Portuguese governor general, succeeding Commander Correia de Barros.

#### SAUDI ARABIA

April 11—King Saud issues a statement explaining why he has refused to renew the U. S. Dhahran airbase lease, which expires in 1962. Partly his decision is due to U. S. aid given to Israel.

#### THAILAND

April 28—The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development makes a \$22 million loan to the State Railways of Thailand to modernize its operations. Thirteen commercial banks provide \$1,955,000 of the sum.

#### TIBET

April 15—The Dalai Lama goes to New Delhi to discuss the plight of Tibetan refugees in India.

## TURKEY

April 20—It is announced that a special Turkish Court, in process since October, 1960, has sentenced former Premier Adnan Menderes and former President Celal Bayar to death for violating, during their terms of office, the Turkish constitution.

THE U.S.S.R. (See also *Laos*.)

April 12—The Soviet Union orbits a 5-ton space capsule, named *Vostock*, carrying Soviet Major Yuri A. Gagarin. Gagarin makes a single orbit about the earth in one hour and 48 minutes, at a speed exceeding 17,000 miles an hour. In a broadcast to earth Gagarin radios back that he sees the earth clearly from the capsule's portholes. At its farthest point the *Vostock*'s orbit was 188 miles from earth, at its closest, 109 miles. In a communiqué issued by the Soviet government and Communist party it is announced that Gagarin's return to earth, on Soviet soil, was accomplished successfully. Gagarin is "the first man to penetrate space."

April 14—Moscow crowds demonstrate in honor of Yuri Gagarin, who arrives in the capital city. He receives the nation's highest award, Hero of the Soviet Union.

April 16—*Pravda* (Communist party newspaper) reports that in the Central Asian republic of Tadzhikistan the first secretary of the republic's Communist party Tursunbai Uldzhabayev and republic Premier Nazarsho Dodkhudoyev have been dismissed for exaggerating cotton production figures in the republic for the last 3 years.

It is reported that a decree has been published in the Soviet press announcing the establishment of a new agency to coordinate scientific research, the State Committee for Coordination of Scientific Research Work.

April 18—Soviet Premier Khrushchev blames the U.S. for being implicated in the attacks on Cuba on April 15 and April 17. He warns that the Soviet Union will assist the Castro regime to liquidate all attackers.

April 22—Premier Khrushchev, in a message to U. S. President Kennedy, declares that the Soviet Union has no desire to

establish bases in Cuba. He charges that the U.S.-sponsored rebel invasion of Cuba was due to the idea of some Americans that they must prevent Soviet rockets being based there. Khrushchev says that the Cuban attack will not prejudice U.S.-Soviet negotiations on easing cold war tensions "and all other questions the solution of which would promote peaceful coexistence."

## UNITED STATES

## The Economy

April 5—The Small Business Administration offers loans for small business men and state and local development companies in high unemployment areas at 4 per cent instead of the usual 5.5 per cent rate.

April 14—The Federal Reserve Board reports a rise in industrial production after a 9-month decline.

April 20—The monthly Economic Indicators report of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress reveals a decline in the total production of goods and services in the U.S. in the first quarter of 1961.

April 23—The Commerce Department reports that in every state personal income rose in 1960.

April 25—Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg reports "substantial labor surplus," i.e., at least 6 per cent unemployment, in 101 industrial areas.

April 26—The Consumer Price Index of the Labor Department shows an over-all stable consumer price level for March, the fifth relatively unchanged monthly level.

Foreign Policy (See also *Cuba* and *Laos*.)

April 1—The U. S. Department of Agriculture, under a law signed yesterday by President John F. Kennedy, withdraws its bonus sugar import quota allotted the Dominican Republic.

April 3—President Kennedy reveals plans to meet French President Charles de Gaulle in Paris May 31.

In a State Department pamphlet, the U. S. asks Cuban Premier Fidel Castro to "sever . . . links with the international Communist movement."

April 5—Vice President Lyndon Johnson ends a goodwill visit to Senegal; a bilateral

agreement will provide U. S. technical and economic assistance to Senegal. April 7—Johnson returns to Washington; Kennedy welcomes him and says he "represented our country with great distinction."

April 8—Food-for-Peace director George S. McGovern asks Kennedy to support an \$11 billion 5-year program.

Kennedy and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan conclude a conference on major international tensions.

Kennedy confers with Netherlands Foreign Minister Joseph M. A. H. Luns in Washington.

April 12—Secretary of State Dean Rusk tells German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer that U. S. policy toward Germany and West Europe has not changed, in a meeting in Washington.

Kennedy greets Adenauer at the White House.

President Kennedy congratulates the U.S.S.R. for sending a man into space.

April 13—Kennedy and Adenauer end a 2-day conference with a joint promise to strengthen defenses and to push toward closer economic cooperation.

April 14—The President asks a summer meeting of the finance ministers of the Latin American republics to establish the working machinery for his suggested "Alliance for Progress."

April 17—Secretary of State Dean Rusk expresses United States' sympathy for the anti-Castro Cuban rebels.

April 18—Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev warns Kennedy to halt the attacks on Cuba; the U.S.S.R. pledges support to Castro's government.

April 19—Kennedy calls a National Security Council meeting April 22 and a Cabinet meeting April 20.

April 20—Kennedy confers with former Vice-President Richard Nixon on the Cuban situation.

Greek Premier Constantine Karamanlis ends a 3-day conference with Kennedy.

April 22—Kennedy and former President Eisenhower discuss unity in the face of the Cuban crisis; Eisenhower urges the nation to support Kennedy.

April 25—Kennedy and Indonesian President Sukarno condemn all forms of

imperialism, in a joint communiqué from Washington.

New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller urges national support for Kennedy in the Cuban crisis.

April 27—Kennedy apologizes personally to Dr. W. H. Fitzjohn, chargé d'affaires of the Sierra Leone Embassy, because the African was refused service in a restaurant in Maryland.

April 28—After Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos Torrado tells Havana diplomats that his government is agreeable to discussion of differences with the U. S., Lincoln White, spokesman for the State Department, notes that "Communism in this hemisphere is not negotiable."

Kennedy confers with former President Herbert Hoover and General of the Army Douglas MacArthur before lunching with U.N. Representative Adlai Stevenson and U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold.

#### Government

April 6—Attorney General Robert Kennedy suggests an 8-point program of legislation to combat organized crime and racketeering.

April 8—President Kennedy eliminates 41 government committees.

April 11—Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges announces that the population center of the U. S. has moved to Centralia, Illinois, 57 miles west of its 1950 location.

April 12—A federal grand jury indicts the General Motors Corporation for monopolizing the Diesel locomotive industry.

April 13—Kennedy offers Congress a plan for reforming the federal regulatory agencies, with special stress on the Federal Power Commission.

Postmaster General J. Edward Day reveals that beginning July 1, air and surface mail postage rates on mail going abroad will be raised.

April 14—The Administration asks Congress to raise postal rates.

April 18—Kennedy asks Congress to set up a Department of Urban Affairs and Housing on a Cabinet level.

April 19—Kennedy names Erwin N. Griswold of Harvard Law School and Spottswood W. Robinson of Howard University

Law School to the Civil Rights Commission. Robinson is a Negro.

April 21—President Kennedy reveals that the first Peace Corps volunteers will be sent to Tanganyika.

April 22—Kennedy names retired General Maxwell D. Taylor to study U. S. intelligence and guerrilla warfare capabilities (see also Cuba).

April 23—It is reported from Washington that Robert Kennedy is working with General Taylor, investigating the intelligence activities of the U.S.

April 26—By a roll call vote of 223 to 193, the House of Representatives authorizes federal aid to areas of chronic unemployment. The bill goes to the President.

April 27—Kennedy sends 2 reorganization plans dealing with the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Communications Commission to Congress. Kennedy urges Congress to enact an Executive Employes Standards Act to replace seven confusing conflict of interest statutes.

Kennedy asks the press to help censure the unauthorized publication of news that might give aid to enemies of the U. S. in the cold war.

April 29—Congressional Quarterly discloses pressure group spending in 1960 as reported under the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act: 284 groups reported expenditures of \$3,967,377. The veterans of World War I of the U. S. A. spent most; next in order of spending were the AFL-CIO, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Legion, the National Education Association, and the Teamsters union.

The Administration bans traditional Fourth of July parties in U. S. embassies overseas to save dollars.

April 30—The Menominee Indian nation receives full citizenship as the U. S. ends its stewardship over the tribe; the 365-square-mile reservation becomes Wisconsin's seventy-second county; corporate representatives of the tribe receive the tribe's \$35 million assets.

**Labor**

April 13—Some 90 union officials meet to discuss interunion conflict within the merged CIO-AFL. The meeting was called by Walter Reuther (United Automobile Workers) and James B. Carey (International Union of Electrical Workers). Jurisdictional disputes are the concern of the meeting.

April 14—The National Labor Relations Board agrees unanimously that staff workers within the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union have the right to organize their own union within the I.L.G.W.U.

April 18—Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, tells the White House that at the President's request and "in the national interest" his union has decided to cancel its boycott of Japanese textiles, scheduled to begin May 1.

April 24—AFL-CIO President George Meany hears former CIO union heads explain their grievances in the field of interunion conflicts.

April 27—United Automobile Workers President Walter P. Reuther suggests that unions support a campaign for reducing the 44 hour week without pay reduction in times of serious unemployment.

**Military Policy**

April 1—The Department of Defense assigns responsibility for operating reconnaissance satellites to the Air Force.

April 5—It is reported from Washington that the Army plans to set up training bases for guerrilla and anti-guerrilla tactics in the Canal Zone in the summer of 1961.

April 8—Discoverer XXIII goes into orbit.

April 9—The Air Force calls a halt in aircraft training intercept missions after the shooting down of a B-52 in error during a mock battle April 7.

April 10—The largest authorization bill in congressional history is sent to the House; the \$11,974,800,000 bill provides for new missiles, aircraft and naval vessels.

April 13—Memorandums signed by Arthur Sylvester, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, spell out tighter controls over Defense Department publicity.

April 21—Air Force Major Robert White flies an X-15 rocket plane to a new speed record for a controlled-flight: 3,140 miles per hour.

April 24—Major General Edwin A. Walker is reassigned after being transferred from the Twenty-Fourth Infantry Division stationed in Germany; Walker was criticized for allegedly indoctrinating his troops with propaganda from the John Birch Society.

April 25—A Project Mercury capsule carried by an Atlas rocket fails to orbit after firing off Cape Canaveral.

#### Politics

April 8—The Republican National Committee releases results of a study of the 1960 election revealing that Republicans failed to receive the suburban vote.

April 18—Former Secretary of Labor James Mitchell is nominated as Republican candidate for the governorship of New Jersey.

#### Scientific Research

April 14—Robert C. Seamans, Jr., associate administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, testifies before the House Science and Astronautics Committee that the project to place a man on the moon has been moved ahead one year.

April 27—The National Aeronautics and Space Administration launches Explorer XI carrying a telescope from Cape Canaveral.

#### Segregation

April 6—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored Peoples challenges the recent award of a government contract to the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation to produce jet transports at its Marietta, Georgia, plant. The N.A.A.C.P. contends that the contract is a "shameful mockery" of Kennedy's recent order barring anti-Negro discrimination in government work.

April 23—Voters in St. Helena Parish (Louisiana) choose to close their public schools rather than integrate them; the vote is 1,147-57.

April 24—The Virginia Supreme Court affirms lower court convictions of Negroes participating in sit-down demonstrations, under the state's anti-trespass laws.

April 26—The Department of Justice asks a federal court to order the state of Virginia to stop using state funds for public schools anywhere in Virginia until Prince Edward County provides public schools; to ban the use of state or county funds for

private schools in Prince Edward; to enjoin local and state officials in Virginia "from failing or refusing to maintain in Prince Edward County a system of free public schools."

#### Supreme Court

April 17—The Court rules 6-3 that a privately operated restaurant in a publicly-owned parking garage in Wilmington, Delaware, cannot refuse to serve Negroes.

In three cases, the Court rules that the National Labor Relations Board cannot prevent unions from requiring union membership for certain foremen's jobs and insisting that these foremen handle all hiring: nor can the N.L.R.B. deny the validity of a whole union contract if a single clause must be invalidated.

April 24—The Court rules that states may exclude from law practice those applicants who refuse to answer their questions. In another ruling, the Court holds that a lawyer who refuses to respond to questions on the subject of ambulance chasing may be disbarred. The federal Constitution's protection against self-incrimination, it is held, does not apply to state proceedings, but only to federal cases.

After Justice Felix Frankfurter delivers an oral dissent, Chief Justice Earl Warren accuses him of "degrading the court," by delivering a lecture instead of a dissent.

#### VATICAN

April 2—Pope John XXIII, at the end of the Easter Sunday services, broadcasts a message and blessing.

#### VIETNAM, SOUTH

April 4—Intensified fighting between government troops and Communist guerrillas in South Vietnam is reported.

April 6—Meeting in Washington, U. S. President John F. Kennedy and British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan confer on the situation in Vietnam.

April 9—Voting for president and vice-president is held.

April 10—Incomplete returns give a large vote to President Ngo Dinh Diem and Vice-President Nguyen Ngoc Tho.

April 11—It is reported that Ngo received 85 per cent of the votes cast in Sunday's election.

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